

QUEBEC HEADS FOR A 'NO'

PETER LOUGHEED
ANSWERS PIERRE TRUDEAU

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

OCTOBER 19, 1992 \$2.25

SECRETS FROM THE BACK ROOM

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**How MPs
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE OCTOBER 15, 1992 VOL. 105 NO. 43

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COVER

SECRETS FROM THE BACK ROOM

In an explosive new book, *Leaders and Lesser Mortals: Backroom Politics in Canada*, authors John Lashinger, a seasoned campaign manager, and veteran journalist Geoffrey Stevens lay bare the campaign-trail world of motives, strategies, deals and battles. One chapter includes extraordinary details about political fund-raising and raises important ethical questions.

— 34

CANADA

QUEBEC HEADS FOR A NO

Less than two weeks before the constitutional referendum, the Yes campaign is facing an uphill struggle right across the province of Quebec. Even longtime federalists and middle-of-the-roaders, uncertain about the merits of the Charlottetown accord, are leaning towards the No side.

— 34



BUSINESS

WAITING FOR RATE DROPS

The upheaval witnessed by financial market traders reflects growing fears that lower interest rates alone may not reverse a stubborn global recession. Economists, drawing parallels to the Great Depression, are becoming concerned that the protracted economic slump could deepen further.

— 52





A Dangerous Attitude

*Letting 'I dare not' rest upon 'I would' like the cat & the adage
—Lady Blackthorn is her warren husband*

As the referendum campaign enters its final days, there is a dangerous "more is more" syndrome among the Yes forces. It is a public refusal to understand, but definitely—to decide a comprehensive plan for dealing with the growing possibility of a No vote in Quebec, and perhaps in other provinces—or even nationally—as well. As *Maclean's* reporters are discovering across the country, and as Peter C. Newman reports in his column on page 60, many Canadians simply don't give up. "No means that we will remain strong supporters of a united country," said Ontario Barbra Chalk Assistant Winston Smith after touring his active Quebec last week. "Over and over again, when I asked a No supporter if his vote represented a vote for separatism, the fraction was: 'Well, no, I just want this constitutional issue to be decided for a few years.'" But that is not the signal that will flash around the world indicating No victory.

After all of the frightening chatter, by politicians, scholars and politicians alike, the message that will go on to money markets, foreign investors and politicians alike are the same: the use of force. The fact that the new Canadian constitution is not about the acceptance of regionalism is a constant reminder. The fact that the new constitution is not about the acceptance of regionalism is a constant reminder. The fact that the new constitution is not about the acceptance of regionalism is a constant reminder.

Wilson-South: a need for the right people in the right places to contain damage from a No vote.

Karin Wiley

Macleod's

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Figure 10.14: *Figure 10.14*

Management Skills in Robert Lewis

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Abstract *Aspergillus fumigatus* (A. fumigatus) is a filamentous fungus that is a leading cause of invasive aspergillosis in immunocompromised patients. A. fumigatus is also a leading cause of allergic aspergillosis in immunocompetent patients. The purpose of this study was to determine the effect of A. fumigatus on the immune response in mice. Mice were infected with A. fumigatus and the immune response was measured. The results showed that A. fumigatus infection led to a significant increase in the number of CD4+ T cells and a significant decrease in the number of CD8+ T cells. This suggests that A. fumigatus infection may lead to a shift in the immune response from a Th1 to a Th2 response.

Tom Perrelli is a frequent contributor to *Entrepreneur*.

Pharmaceutical Industry

James Moore, **John Olin**, **Jerry Scalet**, **Vince Vance**

Mary Johnson, *North Dakota State University* (retired)

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LETTERS

'A winner'

In "A critical decision" (Columbia, Dec. 24), Larry Green of the British Columbia Free Press is concerned with Quebec's possible secession. The Commission's report is seen as a result of the Charbonneau accord. Your article fails to point out that British Columbia will gain four new seats after the next federal election, and a further three following the mini-census in 1995. And, there is the constraint for the next decade that no province will have fewer than 95 per cent of the seats it deserves by population (now only 90 per cent for British Columbia). As you note, there has been a previous under-representation of the province in Ottawa, but the Commission does not believe that this situation should be repeated. It is in agreement with the accord that balances all Canadian interests.

Michael Horowitz
Premier of British Columbia

Heart and mind

You ask me to vote Yes on the Charleston Accord ("The Sealing of the Deal," *Ceres*, Oct. 1981, but even its supporters admit it is flawed, the way that it will unite the country, but this document actually leaves the federal government with little real power. You promise economic prosperity, but this document will burden the taxpayers with even more as we head off the public budget. You predict that it will end the quarreling, but many of the issues require further resolution. You say that it is to be a blueprint for the future, but it is only by the dim prospect of economic security. You ask me to vote Yes with a fearful heart, rather than a reasoning mind. I am voting No.

Joanna Coleman,
Executive, *Cont*

Maroc: British Columbia a winner in deal bolstering all Canadian interests

services and benefits. It also entrenches in the Constitution a deteriorating and expensive state monopoly on health insurance and care. The British North America Act stated, successfully, as the Constitution of this country for no first 135 years. It is looking better and better.

David Sowersville,
President,
The National Citizens' Coalition,
Trenton

The reason I said, vote Yes is this: Quebecers left out by the rest of Canada when Meech Lake failed. I think they were wrong, but the fact that they believed it is critical in the present referendum. If the rest of Canada votes No again, Quebec will have little choice but to try for sovereignty. And that will wreck our country. Thus despite the many imperfections of the constitutional proposals, let us go for a renaissance. Yes right across the country and hold Canada together.

Wagh Avelkumar,
Chief

'Brilliant criticisms'

To all the bird-brained pragmatists whose main argument against Pierre Trudeau's brilliant criticism of the Charlottetown agreement is that his ideas are old ("The Traders storm," *Canada*, Oct. 15), I would like to point out that the predominant ideas in that agreement—inclusiveness and collectivism—are as old that they underlie every dark period of history. Anyone who regards "old" as a valid criterion of an idea is committing intellectual bankruptcy. Trudeau has done Canada a great service by exposing a badly needed element into the constitutional debate.—*Barry*

Class: Microbiology
Course: Cell Biology

Billboard shopping

Your "Wild swimmers" article (Spring 1986, p. 12) mentions that a large portion of the 150 Canadian swimmers reported to Medlock Inc., which is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Consorcio Co. Inc. This is true, but all the facts should be known. While Medlock owns and operates 48 per cent of all the lifeguard locations in Canada, we also act as representatives for 29 other outdoor advertising companies, all of which are 100 per cent Canadian-owned. With those companies Medlock owns and operates 88 per cent of all poster locations in Canada. We do not apologize for our American ownership. All profits made from the posters are reported back into Canada. This means that the 150 swimmers who are 958 transit stations, which are built and maintained by Medlock at no cost to the taxpayer and they offer a tremendous public service.

Steve McLean
President and CEO,
Mediacom Inc.,
Toronto

CLARIFICATION

In an article headlined "The television wars," published in the Oct. 12, 1992, issue of *Maclean's*, the magazine stated that the federal referendum ads will "cost Canadian taxpayers more than \$60 million." The *Yes Canada* Committee, which sponsored the ads, is a national, non-partisan, non-governmental organization which draws all of its funds from business, labor, and individuals.

Letters may be continued. Please supply name, address and daytime telephone number. Write Letters to the Editor: *McGraw-Hill*, 1221 Ave. of the Americas, New York, NY 10020-1095. Tel: 212-512-2000.

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EAR.



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BEFORE YOU DECIDE YOU HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW.

On October 26th, 1992, an historical event is about to take place. An event that will shape the future of our country. On that date, Canadians will be asked to vote on the Charlottetown Agreement.

But if you don't know what's in it, how can you know how to vote? To that end, here's some of the key issues we think you should be aware of.

YOU SHOULD KNOW

Up to now, there has been overlap and duplication of some activities between the federal and provincial governments. To remedy this situation, the Charlottetown Agreement proposes to give provincial governments full powers in a number of areas which are currently areas of shared responsibility...including forestry, tourism, housing and recreation.

Reducing overlap and duplication is in the long term interest of all taxpayers. And equally important, this will bring decision-making closer to the people it will ultimately affect.

YOU SHOULD KNOW

The Charlottetown Agreement recognizes our country would be better served by creating the goal of a stronger economic union. How? Quite simply by reducing the current trade barriers between the provinces and committing all provinces to find ways to do that together.

Fewer barriers means more freedom of movement for all Canadian goods, services and people.

YOU SHOULD KNOW

When you vote yes, you will be voting for key social and economic objectives set out in the Charlottetown Accord. These objectives are widely shared by Canadians and will be written into the Constitution. Objectives like universal health care, adequate social services and benefits, collective bargaining rights, a stronger economic union and a commitment to protect the environment. After all, isn't this what being a Canadian is all about?

Before you know it, it will be October 26th. The time to make a decision on your country's future. So get to know what you're voting for. For the good of all Canadians.

YES **OCT-26** OUI

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OPENING NOTES

Pawning for yuppies, Columbus controversies and a people's banker

STAY TUNED

In a move that critics maintain is designed to prevent a boycott, a new federal regulation will restrict publication of Quebec referendum results until local polls have closed—

tragedy of Canadian events. And even if CNN's cautious independent coverage of the referendum with its own correspondents, Canadian cable subscribers will not be allowed to see it. Under the regulation, cable companies will be responsible for ensuring that no early Quebec results, from full-scale, south-of-the-border coverage to



CNN anchorman Bernard Shaw: no news

WHEN THE TRICKLE RUNS DRY

They worked, they borrowed and they bought the broadest consumer credit on the market. But many young urban professionals, the big spenders of the booming 1980s, are now having trouble paying their bills in the recession-stricken America of 1992. Now, Dean Lurie, a former commercial real estate salesman from Marlboro, Wash., has found a way to help ease financially troubled yuppies' problems—and a philosophy that specifically courts them as clients. In the five months that Lurie's Trickle Down Inc. has been in business, people have paid such stress as a commercial

express machine worth \$7,500 new (priced at \$4,000), a \$1,700 Italian racing bicycle that will last \$250 and a \$7,000 stress system. Now in stock at Trickle Down are eight cars, a boat, a hydroplane and several Rolex watches. Lurie and that most of his customers "were in credit—or out of it by their eyeballs." But he added: "A couple came in the other day, wanted a gold chain and a stereo receiver, then pointed to a Sears catalogue in the store and mentioned that they had just bought a microwave like the one illustrated." All at which caused the question, can you teach an aging yuppie new tricks?

DISCOVERY'S LEGACY

The Get-Away documentary of Christopher Columbus's landing in the Western Hemisphere 500 years ago has sparked heated debate over whether the Indian explorer, often credited as the first white to land in the Americas, was a hero or a genocidal racist. Some highlights:

"He is a symbol of evil, brutality, greed, and all that was bad in the world 500 years ago."



"Larry Jennings, professor in a world class of Columbus at the University of Minnesota."

"He was more of a bureaucrat, a dreamer, like Osama bin Laden, than a politician."

—French actor Gerard Depardieu, star of 1492, a new movie about Columbus's voyages

"Mass killings of indigenous peoples may have been reduced as scale over the past 500 years, but they have never stopped."

—American International report on native people and human rights

"If the Europeans discovered us, what do they think we were before they got here?"

—Rugby player, a Quebec Indian from Guadalupe and host-runner for the Nobel Peace Prize

DRAWING THE LINES

Some notable prizes and Quebec lawmakers who have held their seat in elections in the Oct. 26 referendum.

- Yves Robitaille, Alberta minister of environment
- Nat. Vice-Pres. of the New Democratic Party, director, Alberta Wilderness Association
- Yves Robert Brown, native leader, Saskatchewan
- Nat. Herbert Sparrow, Liberal senator, Saskatchewan
- Yves Van Dorst, Manitoba MPP leader
- Nat. Situation Committee, Manitoba, Liberal leader
- Yves Jean Calvé, Liberal MP, Ontario
- Nat. Judy Beckett, president, National Action Committee on the Status of Women, Ottawa



Pay now, fly later

After the collapse of communism and its official right control over travel, moving around inside the former Soviet Union should have become easier—as theory. But with the dissolution of the country into 15 independent republics, Aeroflot, the co-operative, state-owned airline, has itself dissolved into at least 80 separate companies. Although each continues to use the old and familiar blue-and-white colors of what used to be the world's largest carrier, the division of Aeroflot's assets has not provided any noticeable improvement in the notoriously poor state of travel in the region. According to airline officials, recurrent foggy delays, or lost shipments, frequently shut down almost all of the 1,500 destinations across the former union. As a result, inevitable often resemble makeshift airports on streetside, passengers spend days, even weeks, waiting for scarce flights—costs of which have increased at least tenfold in the past year. In fact, the problem worsened after an explosion and fire speed production in the giant Novosibirsk oil refinery, 1,200 kilometers from Moscow. With the reopening of the South Sea plant will up in the air, many thousands of people continue to live on the ground.



POP MOVIES

- Top movies in Canada, ranked according to box-office receipts during the seven days ending Oct. 9 (in brackets, number of screens/weeks showing):
- 1. The Last of the Mohicans (1992/2) — \$513,600
 - 2. The Mighty Ducks (82/1) — \$513,600
 - 3. Mr. Baseball (87/1) — \$508,900
 - 4. Home (81/1) — \$490,900
 - 5. Swindlers (89/1) — \$414,200
 - 6. Captains Awaken (94/2) — \$396,700
 - 7. Sneglers (87/2) — \$336,000
 - 8. School Days (87/2) — \$334,100
 - 9. Mr. Saturday Night (94/2) — \$221,000
 - 10. Gregory's Glass (81/1) — \$187,500

Source: Entertainment Weekly Inc.

THE COMMON TOUCH

Call it starting at the bottom and working his way back. Helmut Klotz, grandson of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce's rival division, started with the bank 35 years ago as a teller. Now, following the example set by executives at U.S. retailing phenomenon Wal-Mart Stores Inc., he spends a few days each year behind the counter at CIBC branches, learning firsthand about the problems of the bank's customers and frontline employees. "You can only really understand a job if you do it," said Klotz, who has spent the past 30 years of his career on the bank's international branches. "You have to feel it." The experience has been useful, but also humbling, added Klotz, who recalls an exchange that occurred when, while morning a teller's driver, he was introduced to an elderly customer in the trainee who would handle his transactions. The old gentleman, evidently worried by the honor that a novice could work on his accounts, gave the 50-year-old Klotz a long look and then observed wisely: "I'd sit for a trustee, eh?" For a trustee teller, maybe, but not for a trustee president.



PASSAGES

DEB: Willy Brandt, 78, West German chancellor from 1969 to 1974, after a long battle with cancer, at his home in Berlin, a quiet Rhineland village south of Bonn. He was the Nobel Peace Prize in 1971 for his policy of détente with Eastern Europe. Brandt, the dignitary was a Liberal who met western Herbert Ernst Karl Pöhl. A committed socialist, he took the Brandt name when he fled to Denmark after Adolf Hitler rose to power in 1933. Brandt returned to Berlin in 1946 and became mayor of West Berlin in 1957, a position he held when the Wall went up in 1961.



AWARDED: The 1992 Nobel Prize for literature to poet Edoardo Sanguineti, 65, the first West Indian to win the \$1.5-million prize. In selecting Sanguineti, who was born on the Caribbean island of St. Lucia and who now teaches writing and literature at Boston University, the Swedish academy cited his "great lacunosity" of his writings, including the 1990 Omeros, a 64-chapter epic poem modelled on Homer's Iliad.

DEB: Veterans British supporting actor, Benedict Cumberbatch, 37, complications: liver, AIDS, at his home in Bath, Spain, Elmer, who acted on stage, screen and television for more than four decades, was best known for his roles as monarchs, including the recently concluded Trading Places, in Eddie Mar-

phy's better, and Woody Allen's September

DEB: Minnesota lawyer Eddie Kew-Dickie, 52, of long career, at a Birmingham, Ala., hospital. Kew-Dickie was a founding member of the Temperance, one of the most successful of the male Motters groups. He was best known for his high lead vocals on such 1960s hits as "Get Ready."

DEB: Author and philosophy professor, Benjamin Bittorf, 60, of pre-adolescent bleeding complicated by liver disease, in a Chicago hospital. Bittorf, who taught at the University of Chicago, was best known for his 1987 best-seller, The Clergy of the American Mind, which challenged U.S. universities to return to a more traditional curriculum.

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BERMUDA. A SHORT TRIP TO THE PERFECT HOLIDAY.

The dangers of a
national divorce

BY DIANE FRANCIS

The Oct. 26 referendum should be a simple choice. But it won't be because it is a series of trade-offs between provincial and federal leaders arranged behind closed doors. That is why they would not agree to separate one issue from another. As a result, all of us must hold down the whole vote deal to one single question that can be answered simply Yes or No.

Those outside Quebec will probably vote Yes if they want Quebec to stay and don't feel the vote deal gives it too much power. Inside Quebec, the voters will probably be cast by those who feel the vote deal gives Quebec enough power and who want to remain in Canada. For every voter, it will boil down to an emotional decision, which is why polls will be volatile right up to referendum day.

Voters will essentially go through what any one in a long-term perfect relationship has experienced. We are all asking ourselves again and over whether the match can be salvaged. Anaxilas will swing from "Is this working?" to "Maybe it's not so bad" or "Better the devil I know than the devil I don't." Others will feel "I can't stand it anymore" or "Who needs that?" while others will rationalize, "Maybe this is all there is." Those who vote No are in to a multiple-choice matter. They must ask themselves "Will it be an ugly divorce? What will it be like to be single? Can we afford to live apart? And what will it do to the children?"

Unfortunately, we can't wait for the kids to leave home. A bipolar divorce, or civil war, is inevitable, and, worse, if it comes will be extremely ugly. To me, a Yes vote is the only vote to cast for the sake of stability. It is also the only vote that affords you a definite result. A No vote, on the other hand, is a vote for uncertainty. While it does not necessarily constitute a rejection of Quebec, the province's separatists and its bi-lingual French-language caribou will tell it that way. A No vote doesn't mean the end of Canada necessarily, but the international community, and some English Canadians, may

leave or avoid the place as a result. A No vote could also mean "back to the drawing boards" or a reformation. Or a No vote could mean election of separatists in Quebec and an attempt to secede. No is a change.

Those who would risk divorce should consider the case of a family divorce between the Czech and Slovak republics scheduled to take place this December. Of that country's 1,400 registered journalists with foreign reporters this year, only one purchaser of 450 computers in the Bratislava province of Slovakia has fled to the Czech Republic. Meanwhile, the Czech Republic is unaffected. Why? Because the Czechs have a currency, track record and political system that is a known quantity—and in English Canada would have Slovakia, like a sovereign Quebec, in an unknown quantity and no one knows money in uncertainty. Separatism is a social economy for Quebec or any other new country.

Add to that horrendous cost: the fact that divorce here will be unfriendly, litigious and angry. English-Canadians would deny Quebec our currency, would deplete its current horizon, would count on Quebec assuming 25 per cent of the national debt and would rightly demand that on oppression and religious costs be fifty paid to any Quebecer

who wanted to move to English Canada. The whole notion of divorce is unacceptable. Canada may be a mediocre marriage, but it's not as shabby as divorcing one. The vote deal is as in the divorce period, but everyone must vote. Yes because marriages require compromise, and this is a far better one; worse still, nation. Its voting. Yes because my objections to this deal are insufficient to justify a split-up.

For instance, I recently spoke for the Department of Housing at a conference with affiliated Quebecers, because it is understood. But the new Senate, with an abandonment of representation by population, is also understood, as is the existing Senate. Besides, Quebec's population now exceeds the 25 per cent floor and although it is expected to decline, it might not. If it falls below 25 per cent, the issue can be dealt with then. If, as most polls state, Quebec were to vote any choice to this, then it will simply mean that Quebec cannot expect cooperation in areas it wants changed because everybody else has a veto too.

To me, the deal's biggest flaw is its uncertainty. The country's 500 interprovincial trade barriers affect our economy, contribute to inefficiency and make protected industries one step to outside competition. Fortunately, a first minister's conference is to sort this out one year after the deal is finalized. I can wait. There is also the language M20 agenda, inserted into the deal under the heading "Canada's Social and Economic Union." This section contains a list of policy objectives that are supposed to be fleshed out and included down the road, in the Constitution. These items include the maintenance of the social safety net as well as protection of collective bargaining. But there are no checks and balances, and the deal should also include property rights and the individual's right to work.

Without such counterweights, this document will multiply lower the power of the M20's union, leaves at the expense of workers and will permit the government to impose policies that financially harm individuals or enterprises without providing offsetting compensation. To exclude property and individual worker rights is to discourage the work ethic, opportunities and investments, and that would anger wealth creation and the social safety net.

Fortunately, the "social and economic union" portion of the deal is not the supreme law of the land. In addition, the first ministers agreed that one year after any deal is approved, they would meet to eliminate trade barriers within Canada. The issue of property rights and workers' rights could also be addressed.

Another unresolved area of some concern is the goal of aboriginal self-government, whatever that is. Like the social and economic section, this portion recognizes the principle and again aims to flesh out and create the language to be included in the Constitution. I have concerns about this section but am confident that changes will not occur without further public input and approval.

It may not be a great marriage contract, but divorce will surely ruin the children's lives. That is why we must all vote carefully.

QUEBEC HEADS FOR A NO

A self-described federalist and Conservative party supporter, businessman Pierre Gaudet seldom needs to hesitate before making political decisions. The 36-year-old Gaudet, who runs a printing company in Sherbrooke, Que., is a longtime friend of his local MP, Environment Minister Jean Charest. Gaudet campaigned actively for Charest in the 1988 election and says that he will do so again in the future. But he has just to make up his mind on a more immediate political dilemma: how to vote in the Oct. 26 constitutional referendum. In late September, Gaudet says he discussed the referendum and the prospects of Quebec sovereignty as a dinner party with about a dozen friends who, like himself, are middle-class business owners. Two members of the group were sovereigntists who plan to vote No for that reason. But even among federalists, and Gaudet, only one person was "definitely" planning to vote Yes to the proposed constitutional reforms. Said Gaudet: "I really want a proposal that is good for Quebec, and for all of Canada. But I am not sure of this."

That mood of uncertainty is widespread among the 7.8 million residents of Sherbrooke, a city with a strong federalist tradition and a history of warm relations between Anglophone and Francophone communities. In theory, at least, the local Yes forces should be outstriking their campaign is well-organized

THE YES SIDE IN QUEBEC FIGHTS TO REGAIN LOST GROUND BEFORE THE OCT. 26 REFERENDUM

and the exceptionally popular Charest is spending most of his time in the making, busily promoting the accord. In spite of that, Yes campaigners in Sherbrooke and the surrounding Eastern Townships area, 120 km southeast of Montreal, readily acknowledge that they face an uphill struggle. For the Yes side to win, says Charest, "we must be able to convince middle-of-the-road people like my friend Pierre to vote for us." He added, "We have not yet done that—and might not, we are losing heavily to the No."

In fact, the Yes forces are in trouble right across the province. Senior Yes Committee members told *Maclean's* last week that their own polls show the Yes side trailing in the province by 13 points. The Yes campaign's



Supporters of the No side in Montreal, a debate that borders on the surreal.

post showing is at least partly due to former prime minister Pierre Trudeau's scolding denunciation of the accord—which has had a deep impact on the province's anglophones. To try to repair that damage, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney last week gave an unsolicited interview to the editorial board of *The Gazette*—the first time a prime minister has agreed to an interview with the province's largest English-language newspaper. In addition, Robert Bourassa has been badly bruised by the now-famous leaked transcript of a personal telephone conversation between two of his own constitutional advisers, David Wilhelmy and André Tremblay, in which they criticized the Quebec premier's handling of the constitutional negotiations.

But many of the other wounds suffered by the Yes campaign were self-inflicted. The surprise that Bourassa had settled for too little gained strength last week when B.C. television commentator Allan Rock told Sherbrooke voters in Quebec, B.C., that Quebec would "absolutely no give" during the negotiations. In addition, Charest's media gave prominence to a remark by Assembly of First Nations leader Ovide Mercredi last week that if the current agreement is settled, a vast number of anglophones could be almost immediately—contradicting the Yes side's message that the

ensuing deal in Quebec's last, best hope of saving constitutional reform. For his part, Mulroney has accused some Quebecers by warning that a majority No vote in the province would cause uncertainty among investors and lead to economic chaos—while warning a half-hearted step towards Quebec independence.

Many undecided voters reject such arguments. Said Robert Fosse, a 25-year-old law student at the University of Sherbrooke who is leaning towards voting against the accord: "If I vote No, it is not necessarily because I am a sovereigntist. My decision will be based on reason, not emotion or threats."

Across the province, the battle for Quebec's constitutional future has been fought so as strenuously that it is markedly distinct from the campaign at the rest of the country—and even from previous Quebec campaigns. There is virtually no mention of the rest of Canada in the Yes side's campaign. Instead, its television and print advertising emphasizes Quebec's blue and white fleur-de-lis flag. On the rare occasions when Canada is invoked, it is mostly by Mulroney and his MPs, rather than by any member of Premier Bourassa's provincial government. And the ongoing debate in the rest of the country over the merits of the accord, played

Senate and other proposed reforms have, for the most part, not spilled into Quebec.

Indeed, the provincial discussion focuses almost exclusively on the accord's implications for Quebec—and, in particular, on whether Quebec managed to give any new powers. At times, the debate borders on the surreal. As both sides agree over the supposed merits and shortcomings of the proposals, federalists reprove such statements by former Parti Québécois premier René Lévesque, who died in 1987, as an effort to demonstrate that he would have explained their achievements. Recently at Montreal, Yes supporters gave supporters a list of quotes which they claimed showed how Lévesque's demands in 1985 reflected gains contained within the Charlottetown accord.

Not to be outdone, the No side, led by the sovereigntist PQ, has appropriated the language of the late Jean Lesage, Quebec's Liberal federalist premier during the early 1960s and the father of the Quiet Revolution. During a speech to Montreal club servants, Blue Québécois leader Lucien Bouchard, a key member of the No campaign, cited Lesage's words: three times. And Bouchard at Lesage: "He would have feared this [proposal] clearly manifested." Such remarks led Marcel Cook, a senior Yes

National Notes

STEPPING DOWN

Former Saskatchewan premier Grant Devine announced his resignation as leader of the provincial Conservative party, Devine, 44, led the Tories to a first electoral victory before being swept from power by the Saskatchewan New Democrats in October, 1991. A former professor at the University of Saskatchewan, Devine, who has opened a consulting firm, said that he plans to regain the school's significant economic faculty.

ROLLING THE DICE

Ottawa's Consumer and Commercial Relations Minister Marilyn Churley said that the province will open a casino in the border city of Windsor next year. Before following through on its promise to allow casinos in other Ontario communities, Churley said that the new government wants to study the Windsor casino for about a year to establish whether legal and gambling can exist in the province without attracting criminal elements.

A KILLING NUMBER

According to Statistics Canada, 713 homicides were committed in Canada in 1990—an up 38 per cent over a year before. Of these homicides, 441, 36 per cent involved firearms—and half of these involved handguns. Ontario, Ont., had the highest homicide rate at 4.6 killings per 100,000 people, followed by Sullivan, Ont., and Vancouver.

WESTRAY CHARGES

New Scotia's department of labor laid more than 50 charges under the province's Occupational Health and Safety Act against three managers of the Westray coal mine in Pictouville, N.S., and Cargill Resources Inc. for the mine's "serious breach." The officers allegedly took place this year before a methane gas explosion on May 9 that killed 26 people.

JOINING THE RACE

At the House of Commons and Social Services John O'Ding announced his candidacy for the leadership of the provincial Conservative party. O'Ding became the sixth Alberta reform minister to enter the race for Premier Donald Getty's job.

THE CUBAN CONNECTION

Under a blacking order announced in Ottawa, executives of U.S.-owned subsidiaries in Canada would face fines or jail terms if they obeyed a proposed U.S. law restricting trade with Cuba by American-owned firms or persons in the United States. George Bush has not signed the controversial bill.



CANADA WATCH

With polls showing the No forces making gains across Canada and leading by large margins in British Columbia and Quebec, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney said that he would not resign if Canadians voted against the Confederation accord in the Oct. 26 referendum. The Prime Minister added that he would not resign a referendum loss as a personal defeat.

AA poll last week of the agreement, released in January, indicated several changes from the Confederation accord. But amendments would show little difference by either member of Parliament.

must be returned to a so-called reconciliation committee rather than directly in a joint sitting of the Commons and Senate.

Alexis Mervin, head of the Assembly of First Nations, challenged Mulroney's party leader position, moving to a debate on reform government.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"We lost. Nine governments looked him in the eye and said 'No.' Bourassa came to that table and ran into a brick wall."

B.C. Environmental Affairs Minister Mike Sillis in Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa's demands for a separate distinct society provision in the Confederation accord.

negotiate and then agree to both Mulroney and Bourassa, to consider, "The debate in Quebec may seem a little bit strange to the rest of Canada at times."

In a further twist, both Jo Leclerc (Jacques Parizeau) and Thérèse Gaudet (the No side)—although for sharply contrasting reasons—Tudor has his belief that it affects too much to Quebec; Parizeau, on the other hand, says that the accord's proposed transfer of powers to Quebec is "clearly insufficient." Asked by a journalist last week how it felt to be "playing on the same team" in his longtime political foe, Parizeau responded wily: "We are not even playing on the same rink."

With little time left to even the score, the campaigns are counting almost exclusively on this week's televised debate between Bourassa and Parizeau to regain lost ground. As well, the opponents are planning to make more effort to explain the contents of the accord—something they have not yet done with any success. The only strategy of the Yes side to present a No vote as a rejection of federalism appears to have had little impact, as part because the No side resented by downplaying sovereignty and, conversely, as alleged shortcomings of the agreement in an attempt to reach both sovereignty and federalism alike. That message is at the core of the No side's low-key, black-and-white TV ad campaign, in which noted personalities like Bourassa take aim at the accord. Those efforts have been buttressed by the onslaughts of Trudeau—who refused to the agreement as "a moral"—and by the delay in producing a full legal text.

Disregard by some critics, the Yes side has so far failed to persuade many voters that the agreement offers Quebec significant gains and

protection of powers. Those problems have troubled even some of the most credible Yes supporters, including Treasury Board President Gilles Lussier, a former Quebec civil servant who advised Lévesque's government during the 1981 constitutional talks. A solid opinion, central figure Lussier is widely respected by intellectuals and professionals in his home province. But in an interview with *Maclean's* last week, he acknowledged that the Yes side's message has failed to sink in. Said the minister: "We are having great difficulty in convincing people of the significance of these gains for Quebec."

With less than two weeks before the vote, some Yes campaigners acknowledge that they



Wells: reaching out to disaffected voters

For the Yes forces, Wells's two-day swing through Alberta and British Columbia offered a badly needed opportunity to reach out to disaffected voters. Unlike Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin and Liberal leader Jean Charest, Wells is held in special reverence by westerners who opposed Meech Lake. And when he hesitated to join the referendum battle, many westerners suspected—despite the premier's denial—that he was being persuaded into supporting the accord. Said Don Palmer, 42, a Vancouver-based investment analyst who has distributed bulletins urging a No vote: "He leads a province that is so disadvantaged economically that I think he has almost been kidnapped."

But Wells himself showed no sign of having

face a significant uphill battle. Said Lussier: "We certainly will have to do a lot, far better job of getting our message out." But the significance of a minority No vote in Quebec remains uncertain. Yes supporters have been withdrawing from their earlier warnings that the defeat of the Charlottetown accord would beset sovereignty. At the same time, Parizeau, Bouchard and other sovereignty supporters have created their own dilemma by asserting that it is possible for federalists to vote No without endorsing sovereignty; they are also underestimating the potential impact of a rejection of the accord.

Indeed, many No supporters in the Starbuckers area say that their fondest hope is a moratorium on constitutional talks. During an hour-long discussion with *Maclean's* last week, six francophone law students at the University of Sherbrooke all said that they are dissatisfied with the content of the constitutional debate and the political leadership on both sides of the issue. Said Gilles Valières, 25: "To say that you dislike Brian Mulroney and Robert Bourassa is not to say that you like Lucien Bouchard and Jacques Parizeau. Rather, we say, 'The hell with all of them and their cronies!'"

Bourassa's goal, meanwhile, was that if the proposal is defeated in Quebec or elsewhere, "We should put the Constitution aside for the foreseeable future." He added: "It is not our job to beat the word 'Constitution' from anyone for another five years after this vote, I cannot say I will be unhappy." No center have politically denounce the outcome of the Oct. 26 vote may be across Quebec and the rest of Canada that is a sentiment that many voters are certain to share.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Sherbrooke

been ignored. Indeed, in the obvious absence of Yes campaign organizers, the Newfoundland premier came close to cancelling his western visit because of criticism over the agreement's legal text. But as subsequent revelations in Calgary, Vancouver and Victoria, Wells said that he was satisfied that the free press—a death of the text was released on Saturday—accurately reflects the accord signed by the 11 first ministers in Charlottetown on Aug. 28. Denying that Vancouver's brief visit is far the political reality of the country, it is responsible to let a Constitution that is going to perfectly meet with the approval of the people of British Columbia and the same time perfectly meet with the approval of the people of Quebec. We have got to compromise. It was a heartfelt appeal from a politician with a reputation for sticking to his principles, but it reassured to be seen whether Wells's intervention had come too late to sway any western voters.

BILL QUINN in Vancouver with JOHN FOSTER in Victoria



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Yes in Atlantic Canada?

'It is a battle against apathy'

The two offices are as starkly different as the arguments that accompany them.

New Brunswick's Yes campaign for the Oct. 28 constitutional referendum occupies a sparkling Fredericton warehouse, as vibrant a squad of minority staffers, bureaucrats in leave from the provincial Liberal government and other modern-day strategists, prepare information packets and pass fax machines and telephones. Across town, the provincial No forces operate from a small room with paper-thin walls. All the same, Frederick Bennett, the Yes campaign manager, says that he takes little comfort from his opponents' lack of resources.

"There is a lot of momentum out there about the constitutional package," says the local businessman and veteran Conservative party organizer. That momentum is echoed by Yes campaigns across Atlantic Canada, where support for the Charlottetown accord—once viewed as radioactive—was no longer there for granted.

Clearly, voters in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland aren't more supportive of the accord than many other Canadians. According to a poll conducted



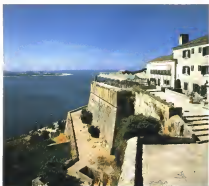
McKenna: putting out all the stops

and released last week by Gallup Canada Inc., 53 per cent of Atlantic Canadians support the agreement, while 30 per cent say that they will vote No and 17 per cent are undecided.

New Brunswick's small No campaign, spearheaded by the province's official opposition, the Confederation of Regions Party (CORP), is the only organized No effort in Atlantic Canada. But analysts say that the economically depressed region is less likely than other areas of the country to swing towards a No vote—largely because voters in the last election perceived that a rejection of the Charlottetown accord would further divert attention from the area's already depressed economy. Says Linda Dyer, president of Baseline Market Research Ltd., a Fredericton-based polling company: "The people in this area are saying, 'Let's finish this and get on with our lives.'"

But some Atlantic Canadians are clearly uncertain about the accord—and confused about its ramifications. Says Owen Barrett, 66, a computer operator who lives in Centra-Riverview, 50 km north of Halifax: "Watching the news and listening to the experts doesn't help you make up your mind. Most of us down here are just fed up with the whole damn thing." Others complain that the often-emotional arguments on either side of the debate have clouded the issue. Declared David McRellar, 54, an unemployed electrician who lives in Douglas Harbour, 45 km east of Fredericton: "Everybody makes a lot of noise but no one gives us any facts."

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where CCA was right if the province's 58 ridings in the last provincial election. So far, though, the CCR No campaign's attack on the accord has been limited to a few small rallies and scattered newspaper advertisements that hint at its deal's concessions to Quebec. Opponents acknowledge that their campaign may be seen as an extension of CCR's platform—which is anti-French and unpopular among most residents of Canada's only officially bilingual province. Says CCR M.A. Gagnier, the manager of the No campaign: "We are trying to distance ourselves from the campaign so that other people will come forward and speak out against the agreement." To that end, No campaigners have looked for high-profile opponents of the accord, including former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, to travel to New Brunswick.

But the No campaign is likely to be drowned out. New Brunswick's well-organized Yes forces, spearheaded by popular Premier Frank McKenna, are pulling out all the stops. An extensive provincial Yes advertising campaign will soon begin the province, supplementing the federal Yes ad campaign that began last week. And the Yes effort is just as intense in the other three Atlantic provinces, even though there is little organized local opposition to the accord.

In Nova Scotia, the battle seems especially one-sided. There, the provincial Yes committee, which includes the province's business and labor leaders, is directing the efforts of three main political parties. Yes campaigners say that their cause enjoys a public dominance—not opposition to the accord. "It is a battle against apathy," explains Ann MacLean, the mayor of New Glasgow and co-chair of the Nova Scotia Yes committee. "We have to provide the information to convince Nova Scotians to get out and vote."

So far, Nova Scotia's Yes forces have concentrated on promoting the agreement on its merits. But on Oct. 4, the campaign was shaken by the decision of the Native Council of Nova Scotia to reject the Charlottetown accord if aspects of the native self-government agreement are not clarified. Analysts say that at the referendum news, similar setbacks could lead the Yes forces to offer more emotional arguments—including emphasizing the potentially negative economic consequences of a No vote.

For their part, Nova Scotia's proponents of the accord say that they will not use scare tactics. That promise is echoed by Yes campaigners in Prince Edward Island and in New Brunswick, where the Yes forces are relying on the passionate shippers of Premier Clyde Wells to carry the day. "I feel a good deal of confidence that the accord will be accepted in New Brunswick," Wells told Maclean's last week. That may well hold true for the other Atlantic provinces as well—if the Yes forces win their war against uncertainty and its sub-merged opposition.

JON HUEMILLER in Fredericton



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Volunteer in Calgary store: 'We want to get information out to the people'

Grassroots fervor

A Calgary citizens' group says Yes

The city is home to the Reform Party of Canada, one of the leading advocates on the No side in this Oct. 26 referendum. But less work, Calgary also became a focal point for Alberta's struggling Yes forces, as a group of concerned citizens with dramatically different views of Canadian federalism stepped up its efforts to sell the Charlottetown constitutional accord. Taking its message directly to downtown shoppers and office workers, The Together for Canada Committee, founded last December to foster better relations between Canadians and Quebecers, opened a temporary, flag-draped store in the city's Downtown-Darwin Square. Among the available items: 1141 signed-and-T-shirted, \$1 "Van, Yes" t-shirts and five summaries of the Charlottetown accord. "We want to get information to the people," said volunteer store manager Patrick Valente as people lined up to pay \$18 for committee memberships and the newspaper advertisement. Added Valente, a 35-year-old political science student: "There are a lot of misconceptions about this accord. But you spend time with people and they reconsider their doubts."

For members of the Together for Canada Committee, which claims the support of more than 200 Calgary community and social-service associations, the referendum campaign presents a unique opportunity to persuade their

vision of a united Canada. Still, committee members acknowledge that they are waging an uphill battle. According to an Angus Reid Group poll released on Sept. 28, 50 per cent of Albertans oppose the Charlottetown accord, 34 per cent are in favor and 16 per cent are undecided.

The committee's earlier projects included travel exchanges between Quebec and Calgary families, the delivery of thousands of postcards from Calgarians congratulating Montserrat on their city's 350th anniversary and an exchange of educational videos between Calgary and Quebec students. "It is detected at the risk and life of Quebec," said Arthur Smith, the chairman of a Calgary engineering firm. "It is kept over the production of the Quebec media. They finally conceded we had a case."

And as it takes its case to the public—the committee is launching similar sales efforts at other Calgary shopping centres and sponsoring speakers' forums on the Charlottetown accord—the grassroots movement appears to have tapped an undercurrent of patriotism among Calgarians. "We are giving people a chance to express their passion for this country," said committee co-chairman Brian Penfold, a Calgary lawyer. "We have evoked emotions here that we thought were pretty passive before."

By last weekend, the Together for Canada committee had spent \$429,000 raised from

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private and corporate donations, part of it on a storm of French privacy advertisements in Quebec newspapers. "Calgary extends to Quebec best wishes for 1992," read one ad, which also listed the committee's reporting groups. "A United Canada is Dear to Our Hearts," it continued. Asked by the Hill, Calgary Flames, it then sponsored a Pro/Con History Tournament exchange between Calgary and Quebec City teams. In July, committee members host-ed 50 Quebec families during the Calgary Stampede, after which 35 Calgary families visited Quebec homes in Montreal, Quebec City and outlying communities. "Most of the Quebecers had never been 'West,'" said committee member Puylla Robb. "They came with the idea that all the West hated Quebec. They were greeted with the warmth of welcome."

The committee's 3500th anniversary post-cards also struck an emotional chord among the Quebec recipients, many of whom were moved to respond. "We are French Canadians and proud of it," wrote the family of Jacques and Marlene Tremblay of Montreal to a Calgary family. "We greatly appreciate the interest you have shown and we hope for a rapprochement between us all in the future." An 18-year-old Montreuil wrote a Calgary student: "Thanks for your wishes. Come and see Montreal from a different angle. I could be your guide."

These grassroots contacts are supported by a committee-sponsored exchange between Alberta and Quebec schools of videos describing one community to the other. Last week, Quebec students and teachers from French language schools in Sherbrooke and Val-d'Audouville a Calgary showing of video highlights. "Our kids don't see why there can be such differences between French and English," said Robert Monette, curriculum administrator at Calgary's bilingual Reginald Bessborough School. "We see here 13 different ethnic groups and how religious who get along in the Grade 4 class. Our students agree that it is in the schools who make the problems."

More recently, the committee has taken its campaign to the University of Calgary campus. "In one day, we had more than 1,000 students and faculty drop by the cages of the second and its highlights," said Will Oude, 28, a second-year law student. "It shocked me that so many people came." His group now plans a mall drop to about 300 students in campus restaurants. "I am doing this because I think it is a good deal. It gives something to everyone," said Oude. "Finally, I fear the consequences of the No vote. I am not saying it would break up the country, but I am not willing to take that chance."

The committee also has a high-profile bonfire in Calgary Mayor R. Deery, who says that he is likely to vote No in the Oct. 26 referendum. "I am proud of it [the committee] coming from Calgary," said Deery. "It is time we stood up for what we believe in." The support pouring in for the Together for Canada Committee suggests that some Calgarians, at least, are ready to heed his advice.

JUDY BOWEN in Calgary

coming november 2nd

THE SECOND ANNUAL
MACLEAN'S REPORT ON
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Maclean's

CANADA'S FAVORITE NEWSMAGAZINE

An uncommon alliance

The No leaders share an independent spirit

The leaders of the strengthening No side for the Oct. 26 referendum reflect an unlikely alliance among various activists. Quaker opponents, disestablished Indian chiefs, Reformers and other political mavericks. But as a series of Mulroney's interviews last week reveals, many of the key participants do have some common characteristics, including a fiercely independent spirit and a willingness to incur disfavor in the name of their cause.

Deborah Coyne, co-founder of Canada For All Canadians, an Ottawa-based No committee.

To her admirers, Coyne is best known to Canadians as a simple member of 18-month-old Sarah Elizabeth, whose father is Pierre Trudeau. But the 37-year-old Coyne and the 72-year-old Trudeau have something in common: an unwavering dedication to the cause of a strong, central government and the ethical opposition to the Quiet Revolution accord. Both Trudeau and Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, who Coyne served as constitutional adviser between 1989 and 1991, have clearly influenced her thinking. But as she made clear in an interview, Coyne's view of federalism has remained consistent since she studied constitutional law at Toronto's Osgoode Hall Law School in the late 1970s. "Coyne credits her family with instilling her with a love of history, a loyalty to principles and 'a strong belief in equality for all'."

The daughter of high-profile Ottawa lawyer John Coyne—and the niece of former Back of Canada governor James Coyne—she has spent the past five years fighting the decentralizing thrust of the constitutional changes that the Mulroney government initiated. Within hours of the initial agreement on the Meech Lake accord in April 1987, Coyne, then assistant law professor, wrote a scathing criticism of opponents who, three days later, led an anti-Meech rally at the University of Toronto. After joining Wells's team, she became a key lobbyist and activist in the battle that resulted in the defeat of the accord.

A former delegate at Quebec's University, Osgoode Hall and later at Oxford University, Coyne speaks so quickly that she often verbally

trips over half-completed sentences. She also spends thirty of those who disagree with her—now including Wells, who supports the Charlottetown accord. Says Coyne: "He's just a personal friend and he's now returning to that role." But she remains confident that Canadians who rallied to Wells two years ago will now support her when she condemns the current accord as "Meech Lake times five."

Rafe Mair, Vancouver radio talk show host.

The last musical strains of the Yes campaign's radio ad were just trading off 000s, Vancouver's most popular radio station, when Rafe Mair ended his show on the air: "I've said it enough, he's told his audience, 'I have to

born Mair has a grounding in constitutional affairs. A graduate of the University of British Columbia law school, Mair served in several cabinet portfolios under former Social Credit premier William Bennett. He also acted as the province's point man during the heated battle over the ratification of the Constitution in the early 1980s. Mair, who makes an estimated \$100,000 annually for his radio show, now makes no secret of his antipathy to what he calls a federal pact of his two nations. "Quite frankly, it's a little sad," he told his listeners recently. "The Prime Minister is a bad person to have as an enemy."

Stephen Harper, policy chief, the Reform Party of Canada.

Reform party leader Preston Manning's closest and most trusted advisor was in a confident mood as he discussed the prospects of a No victory on Oct. 26. "The campaign is going very well," said Harper, one of 40 full-time paid Reform party workers. "But it's not as if our performance has been as outstanding—this was due to the strategic competence of the Yes side." He was especially encouraged by

sherry after his return to Alberta in 1986. "Whatever the Tories and they stood for, they were not success," says Harper.

Like Manning, Harper criticizes the new constitutional accord for failing to adhere strictly to the principle that all provinces should be treated equally. And with the referendum campaign approaching its climax, he clearly relishes the opportunity to embarrass his former political allies. "They [the federal Conservatives] do seem to realize how marginal they have become in Alberta," he said. "And it is too late for doubleback conversion."

Judy Rebeck, president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women.

When Rebeck announced last month that she intended to campaign for the No side, she drew immediate criticism from some of her traditional allies, including Ontario's premier Bob Rae and Canadian Labour Congress president Robert White. But Rebeck is accustomed to taking controversial stands. A former campus activist and a capable public speaker, she is also a rights activist. Dr. Henry Morgenthau

could do everything he said I couldn't do."

Born in Reno, Nev., Rebeck moved with her family to Toronto when she was 16. After graduating from Montreal's McGill University with a bachelor of science degree in 1967, she travelled around the world, learning firsthand about the oppression of women at other nations. In 1969, a group of students, angry at seeing a woman travelling alone, threw stones at her. Before becoming SAC president in 1981, Rebeck served for 15 years as an advocate for the Canadian Hearing Society. "Real change," she says, "happens from people taking responsibility for change. And that's starting to happen in this referendum campaign."

Louis Stenness, chief of Manitoba's Progress Action Fund.

David Mervin, national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, sat glumly last week at the front table of the Indian Indian caucus's emergency outfit as 300 local members gave their cheer. Louis Stenness, a standing order, the chief delivered a blistering response, past, present and future. He declared that he delivered a scathing condemnation of the

the living conditions of native Canadians and those of South African blacks earned Stenness the scorn of anti-apartheid groups as well as many of his fellow native leaders. The criticism did not faze him. "I don't go along with the flow," he said. "I listen to a lot of advice, but I don't always follow. I make up my own mind."

Born in a log cabin on the reserve, the fourth child in a family of 16, Stenness says that he was always a loner. After Grades 1 through 11 at the reserve school, he spent his high school years off the reserve surrounded by non-Indians. While he experienced some racial discrimination, he also developed the self-confidence that he has demonstrated in 32 years as chief. "You got to earn respect," he says. "If you let people push you around, treat you like dirt and abuse you, you get what you deserve."

Lucien Bocharon, leader of the Bloc Québécois.

In Bocharon's political lexicon, the word "nationalism" is paramount. For the 53-year-old lawyer, the national identity of Quebec is French-Canadian. English-speaking Canadians amount to little more than a series of humiliations inflicted upon Quebec. The coming referendum is no exception. "Saying Yes is the solution of a Quebec people," he declared last week during a television debate with federal Liberal leader Jean Charest. "It represents abandonment, the peace of submission."

Born in Quebec's Lac St-Jean area, a hub of francophone nationalism, Bocharon followed a tortuous political course. As a law student at Laval University, he championed the Bloc. In 1988, he campaigned on behalf of Pierre Trudeau. Four years later, he joined the Parti Québécois and became a senior adviser to René Lévesque. But despite appeals from Lévesque, Bocharon declined to seek a seat for the PQ.

His career took another dramatic turn when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, a former law school classmate, pointed him to Canada's ambassador to France in 1995. Three years later Bocharon left for the Conservatives and joined Mulroney's cabinet. But the nervous Bocharon bristled under the constraints of cabinet solidarity, especially when it came to speaking out for the interests of Quebec. This is especially evident in his work with Mulroney over the Meech Lake accord and his decision to found the separatist Bloc Québécois. "The truth is that Quebec no longer wants to be part of Canada," he said at the time. "We want to be sovereign."

BRIAN BIRCHMAN and correspondents' reports



"[Former ally Clyde Wells is] just a provincial premier and he's now returning to that role."

—Deborah Coyne

"Quite frankly, I'm scared. The Prime Minister is a bad person to have as an enemy."

—Rafe Mair

"The campaign is going well. But it's not as if our performance has anything to do with outstanding—it's the in the pocket of the Yes side."

—Stephen Harper

"I spent my youth pushing my father said I couldn't do."

—Judy Rebeck

"If you let people push you around and abuse you, you get what you deserve."

—Louis Stenness

"Saying Yes is the solution of a Quebec people."

—Lucien Bocharon

lately to ease some of those." It was vintage Mair, the man Brampton Conservatives hope to love or hate as "Doctor Mair" in the referendum campaign. Indeed, almost every weekday morning news the saying of the Charlottetown accord. Mair, 60, has opened his doors here morning press law show with as a weekly audience of 130,000, the largest of its kind in Canada—by rising against the "billy boys at the Canadian bar."

Mair, who opposes any form of special status for Quebec, was equally critical of the Meech Lake accord. But unlike some vocal activists, he said, who at the debate, the Vancouver-

born he saw as the muddled nature of the Yes campaign's TV advertising. Declared Harper: "Those commercials mean some sort of moral superiority. They say of everybody."

For the Toronto-born 39-year-old Harper, politics is a passion that supersedes most others. Unmarried and a self-described loner, he told Mulroney's "I have my fill of people at work and travelling." Harper, who holds a master's degree in economics, served as an aide to Calgary Conservative MP James Sinclair from 1985 to 1989. That led to a deep discussion with the Tory party—and his decision to join the then-fledgling Reform party

later. Rebeck, 47, is now focusing her political fire on a constitutional accord that she considers a threat to women, gay and social progress aimed at the disadvantaged. "Swearing against the common denominator that's your career path," she says. "For a woman, that's never been a major issue for me."

Rebeck credits her independence to a childhood spent with a father who she describes as "downright and vocal." Except for my mother and me, I think that he was a real independent man," she says. "He would say that women were dumb, that women weren't smart. I spent a good part of my youth proving that I

constitutional accord that Mulroney had helped to negotiate. He criticized the deal for forcing active people to negotiate for rights which he claimed they already enjoyed through their families. "I don't want to see one people subordinate to the province or the federal government," declared Stenness, the first chief of the Meech Lake pact to publicly oppose the national Indian leader.

In 1987, Stenness garnered international attention by taking South Africa's ambassador to Canada, Claus Buisson, on a tour of the Pigeon reserve, 175 km north of Winnipeg. That prompted him to draw comparisons between

PETER LOUGHEED ANSWERS PIERRE TRUDEAU

THE FORMER ALBERTA PREMIER SAYS THAT QUEBEC
MUST BE BROUGHT BACK INTO THE FOLD

Peter Lougheed born both the sons and epitome of Canada's constitutional crisis. As premier of Alberta from 1971 to 1985, Lougheed was a strong defender of provincial powers. He was a leader among those premiers who reached this Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's crusade for a strong central government. But as the latter negotiations leading up to the 1982 patriation of the Constitution, Lougheed also showed an unyielding compassion—and was a casualty of that approach.

Lougheed, 64, now teaching law in the nation's Calgary and serves as a director of several blue-chip Canadian companies. But he remains involved with public policy. He was a vocal advocate for the 1988 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and opposed in favor of the Meech Lake accord. In an essay written for Maclean's, Lougheed contends that the failure to win Quebec's approval of the 1982 patriation left unresolved constitutional issues, which should be settled by approving the Charlottetown accord. His report

ESSAY

contrasts on the federal spending power should help to curb public expenditure and over time help to reduce our government deficits. Canadians can no longer allow their governments to spend beyond their means. These provisions, however, do not weaken our valued social programs such as medicine.

The key shift in powers from Ottawa will be the exclusive provincial jurisdiction for labor-market development and training. There are two major reasons for that. The provinces control education, including postsecondary education, and we must do better as a country in the education and training fields together. Each province has different prospects for jobs and skills required. It will, in my view, work much better if government training programs are funded by only one government, as an extension to education. Canada has to develop much better methods of specifically matching training to opportunities, and the provinces are clearly better equipped to do this.

Taken as a whole, these power shifts will make for better government, yet the central government has retained the power it needs to manage a modern economy in a modern, competitive world. For this reason alone, I would vote Yes on Oct. 20.

THE MYTH OF BLACKMAIL

A second compelling argument for voting Yes is to redress the wrong imposed by Pierre Trudeau when he insisted on patriating our Constitution at a time when we had a separatist (Polo Québec) government. As one small expert, the Quebec government of the day refused to be a party to the Constitution Act of 1982. As the premier of Alberta at the time, I said that our province was

pleased with its existing formula that protected our natural resources, but very disappointed that we could not get Premier René Lévesque's signature. It was a reality that we have a Constitution that is not legitimate in a constitutional issue—over 25 per cent of our

citizens have not had their duly elected provincial government agree to the provisions.

It is essential to cure this serious defect. In 1992, we are fortunate in having a federalist government in Quebec, which is prepared to join the Constitution of Canada and put this issue behind us. Contrary to the view of some, Canadians are not denying their attention to this matter in response to "blackmail" threats from a minority separatist group in Quebec, but to legitimate our Constitution.

As a result, I have pleased that the provisions in the Charlottetown agreement respond to the desire of Quebec to be a full partner in Confederation. Yes, there are many important gains for Quebec



as, but that is as it should be. Their provincial government representatives at the leading sessions of Canada, as we have reflected in our acceptance of official bilingualism. Quebec is clearly a distinct society, which includes a French-speaking majority, a clearly unique culture, and a civil-law tradition. And it is their wish that the Constitution recognize that the role of the legislature and the government of Quebec is to govern and promote such a distinct society.

I support these goals. It is wrong for Canadians to assess the Charlottetown proposals on the basis that if one rejects "items," so to speak, another "loses." If Quebecers wish their distinct-society request, there is no way that I, being in Calgary, "lose." I am satisfied that the Supreme Court of Canada will, over the years, interpret these provisions fairly and ensure that the members within Quebec do not suffer discrimination.

As an outsider, I observe in these proposals many of the wishes of Quebecers that have been expressed to me, both in my public and private life, over the years. When I was premier there were many issues where the government of Quebec and Alberta became very effective allies. As a result we tried very hard to understand and appreciate the aspirations of the people of Quebec. In the recent negotiations, I know my successor Premier Donald Getty and his intergovernmental affairs minister, James Harrison, did the same.

So, when I consider the various provisions regarding Quebec, I am positive to them and do not see them as threatening to the West, or to the nation as a whole. Because Quebecers view themselves as a minority in an English-speaking North America, it is natural for them to desire that more of their desire be determined by their provincial government in Quebec City, and it is right that the Charlottetown consensus does this in a number of ways.

It is also, in my view, fair for them to have a guarantee of 25-per-cent representation in the House of Commons. Quebec has historically had more than 25 per cent of the population in Canada. It is also appropriate that, as the new Senate, legislation that materially affects the French language or culture would require the support of a majority of the francophone senators. For the same reason, I also support the part of the agreement that sets the nine-justice Supreme Court be composed of three judges from the Quebec bar, instead in Quebec's civil code.

I hope that Quebecers will vote Yes as the referendum. None of the provisions are harmful or disadvantageous to me as a norwester. I would be delighted for Quebec to join us in a united Canada by legitimizing our Constitution.

A CHAMBER WITH FORCE

The third reason for a Yes vote is that the proposals respond very significantly to the long-standing conviction of most western Canadians that their concerns are not properly reflected in the Parliament of Canada. This is done through the new Senate.

It will truly be a new Senate, because its members will be elected—and that changes everything. It also means the position I took at opposing over 20 years ago, Trudeau's view that we are a nation of regions, with the provinces of Ontario and Quebec as first-class provinces and the other eight as second-class provinces. This was Trudeau's view as shown by his famous meeting formula. He lost in 1982 to the Alberta seceding formula, which constitutionalized the principle of equal representation. My successor, Premier Getty, fought hard for this principle in the Charlottetown accord—and won. The new Senate will be composed of six senators from each

It is wrong to assess the Charlottetown proposals on the basis that if one region 'wins,' so to speak, another 'loses'

stood at a threshold of history. And the future is ours to determine. The decision that each Canadian voter makes at the longhouse of the polling booth on Oct. 20 will either give our children the chance to build a better country or walk to the, or watch from the safety of the observation that four provinces were privileged to enjoy.

The proposed constitutional changes, announced in August 28, 1982, consensus report—unanimously agreed to by the Prime Minister and all 10 premiers and native leaders in Charlottetown—should be supported by Canadians in all provinces.

There are five reasons to vote Yes—and two to not vote No.

For one thing, the problems of the Charlottetown accord will modernize the way our country functions by reducing duplication and overlap in programs provided by two federal and provincial governments. My experience as premier for 14 years was that when two governments intervened in the same field there was often confusion, conflicting objectives and sometimes wasteful waste. I was delighted to see the first ministers transfer exclusive jurisdictions to the provinces in a number of important areas, such as housing, tourism, recreation and municipal and urban affairs, where provinces should be more responsive to the local needs of the people. Also, each province in Canada owns its natural resources and it will be advantageous for the provinces to have exclusive jurisdiction in forestry and mining.

The shift in powers will result in some services being provided by the provinces, which are closer to the people and, hence, are more responsive. And they reflect the financial limitations of governments by restricting the capacity of the federal government to spend. The

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SECRETS FROM THE BACK ROOM

A NEW BOOK UNMASKS POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

The Oct. 26 referendum campaign marks the beginning of a period of compressed political activity in Canada with the approach of a federal election campaign, as money in its primordial campaign and, possibly three federal leadership contests. In their new book *Leaders and Lesser Mortals: Backroom Politics in Canada*, authors John Lockinger and Geoffrey Stensley lay bare the campaign world of money, strategy, deals and behind-the-scenes. Over her decades Lockinger, 60, a Conservative, directed 11 provincial leadership campaigns and the federal campaign of Newfoundland's John Crosbie, as well as its provincial election campaigns, mostly for the Progressive Conservative. Lockinger, 52, has covered more than a dozen campaigns and has been a reporter and columnist for 30 years. One chapter includes extraordinary details about political fund-raising and raises important ethical questions. Excerpt.

Prime Trudeau was a shoo-in. I went out for lunch with him and he had to borrow 25 cents for the tip.

—Retired senator John Godfrey

Jack Godfrey, the grand old bugman of the Liberal party, loves to tell the story about Pierre Trudeau borrowing the money to leave a 25-cent tip. He tells it with respect and affection. Patronage is a virtue that the people who guard the vaults of the political bank never come to think as the rare occasion that they find it in the greedy, high-spirited world of electoral politics. Politicians, of course, are speculators, not conservers. They spend to get elected. Once elected, they spend more to keep themselves in office. They spend today and worry about raising the money tomorrow. They spend on polling and television even when their bank accounts are empty and their lines of credit are stretched to the limit. Their bank records often find they are on a treadmill, running harder and harder to keep from falling further and further behind the unpayable financial demands of the politicians they serve.

"The way money is spent in politics would not be defended in any other institutional setting—with the possible exception of the railway at the fairground," says Robin Sears, a former federal secretary and campaign-financier of the New Democratic Party. "It would certainly not be tolerated in business. I feel guilty as much as anybody. It is absolutely

corrupt, in any situation, somebody calls up and says, 'We need another three minutes of TV time in Vancouver,' and I say, 'Piss. Do it.' There goes \$100,000."

If anything, spending is even more difficult to police in a leadership campaign than in a general election. Senator Patrick MacDonald watched the money pour out the door during Joe Clark's disaster, \$1.9-million, but to retain the Tory leadership in 1983. "We never had a budget," he recalled. "What the left's a budget? There's no such thing. At any given point, if you say the budget is a number of dollars, somebody comes in and says, 'Just add a bit more.' The budget's gone, but the money goes."

John Rae, the Montreal business executive who ran Jean Chrétien's campaign for the national Liberal leadership in 1984 (successfully) and 1986 (unsuccessfully), says the financial officers of a campaign may think they have spending under control and within budget, only to find at the end that they have spent more than planned and that unexpected bills come in. "You try to bring it into everyone's head," Rae says. "Most of the people who are involved in campaigns are responsible people in dealing with money. The difficulty is politics is that you don't control everything. It's impossible to control everything."

Jack Godfrey, now 80, believes that the person who is responsible for raising money should also control the spending—not the detailed items, but the global amounts. Back in 1957, Lester Pearson, the newly chosen federal leader, asked Godfrey (who by the Ontario Liberal party by raising a campaign was clear for provincial leader John Wintermyer). Godfrey agreed, on the condition that he also controlled the party's expenditures. He prepared a budget for the 1958 Ontario election, only to discover that Wintermyer had authorized an additional—and unbudgeted—\$100,000 for TV commercials. Godfrey told him the party did not have the money and, unless Wintermyer could show him where he proposed to take the \$100,000, he was going to inform the advertising agency that it would not be paid.

"I said, 'Christ, that's crooked! We haven't got any money! You're going to get the thing as debt,'" Godfrey recalled. "I phoned the advertising agency and told them we didn't have the money but I wasn't going to cancel the advertising—they should just do what they thought was right. Of course, they cancelled the advertising and that got in the paper, and there was a crisis in the party. According to Wintermyer, I



Malrooney on Parliament Hill in 1991: parties struggle to pay bills while candidates are wiring on small fortunes

lost the election for him because then-Tory premier Leslie Frost said, 'If the Liberals can't run their own business how can they run the province's business?' It was a good point."

The feud between Godfrey, the bugman, and Wintermyer, the leader, spilled over into the next Ontario election, in 1963. The Liberals lost again and, when it was over, Wintermyer threw a party in his home town, Kitchener, and sent the bill—for \$10,000—to Godfrey. "He wanted me to pay that bill. I said, 'You say you lost, it's your party, you pay for it.'"

Godfrey found himself in a similar confrontation with campaign director Keith Dwyer following the 1974 federal election, when the Liberals under Trudeau regained a majority government. There is still a note of incredulity in Godfrey's voice—nearly 30 years later. "Keith Dwyer ordered a poll to find out why we had won the election. Why we'd won? You usually order that before an election. This was done by Martin Goldilocks—for \$60,000. The bill came and I said it back and said, 'Keith, it's nothing to do with me, it's nothing to do with the party. You ordered it, you pay it.' I just refused to pay it. Goldilocks didn't get paid for four or five years on that one."

Terry Yates, a General Motors dealer in Hamilton, became controller of the federal Tories following the 1979 election, in which Robert Stanfield's Conservatives had come within two seats (107-100) of ousting Trudeau's Liberals. Tory party financiers were in rough shape. Yates knew that much. He did not know how much. Having spent far more than they needed in a frantic campaign in a desperately close election, the Conservatives were in dire straits. They were \$3 million in debt—a staggering amount for a party to owe in the early 1970s—and

when another election came along in the spring of 1974, they could not afford to buy any television time. Yates and Patrick Vernon, the party's chief fund-raiser, personally guaranteed the \$1.5-million vote for the media buy. With aggressive fund-raising and tight spending controls, the Conservative party managed to regain some financial ground during the 1974 campaign, emerging from the election "only" \$1 million in the red. But, crushed by the Liberals in that election, the Tories had no prospect of being able to pay off the debt in the foreseeable future.

Vernon decided the party had no alternative but to declare bankruptcy, and he and Yates secretly flew to Halifax to bank. Vernon's last news to Stanfield: "We went to lunch, and Stanfield was quite affable." Yates recalled "Then we went back to his house and sat in the backyard to talk about the future of the party and what was going on. Patrick lays the bombshell on him that the party has to declare bankruptcy. The leader, after he dropped his teeth, said surely there must be another solution. We talked about it and how much the debt was and what could be done. The decision was to make no decision, to just carry on. We felt it would not be the right thing to do, to declare bankruptcy."

What ultimately saved the Tories from bankruptcy was the Election Expenses Act, which came into effect late in 1974. The act did four principal things. It put limits on spending by parties and candidates in general elections and by-elections. It provided for the partial reimbursement from the public purse of election expenses incurred by candidates and parties. It required public disclosure of the sources of individual and corporate donations of more than \$100 to parties and candidates. And it

monetary contributions by establishing a system of tax credits for individuals giving to parties and candidates. The tax credit provision enabled the Conservative party to broaden its financial base, and made it possible to build an extremely successful direct-mail campaign, to launch the "500 Club" for \$10,000 donors and to stage came and larger fund raising dinners. On the day in 1978 that Joe Clark was elected Tory leader, John Lauchlin, then the party's national director, reported to Stelfox that the late letter had been circulating from the 1975 election had finally been paid and the party would be a few dollars in the black after the leadership convention.

Although the 1974 legislation should have made it possible for any well-managed party to avoid red ink, parties are frequently not well managed and they do get into trouble. Indeed, it. They get into trouble especially when they find themselves severely falling out of power and losing momentum. Ironically, the inflow of funds seems to flow in a trickle. Parties can no longer afford the high-expending habits they developed while in office. They are forced to decrease—to reduce staff, cut back promotional activities and candidate involvement and even curtail expensive fund-raising operations—thereby flipping themselves more deeply into the hole. Meanwhile, parties in power, unless they make themself subjects, grudgingly uncooper with the cheque-writing public, have fewer problems raising money; they are able to continue spending on personnel, polling, promotional activities—and fund-raising.

The federal Liberals have never recovered, psychologically or financially, from losing office in 1984. The late Mulroney (John Turner elected, 80 of the 1984 election campaign, there were 44 million in debt. The Ontario Conservatives who lost power in 1985 and who went through three changes of leadership in five years, suffered even more. By the time Liberal Premier David Peterson called the September 1993 election, the Tories owed \$5 million to five banks and five trust companies. The poverty, however, was all at the top. As Lauchlin acknowledged the Conservative election campaign, he discovered to his embarrassment that, although the party was debt-free, its 130 riding associations were sitting on a small gold mine. Collectively, they had \$2 million in their bank accounts. But, to the amazement of senior officials, the party never could get its hands on much of that money. It was still \$4.6 million in debt at the summer of 1992.

Prized financing laws, with their tax credits for contributors, make it difficult enough to raise money. But it is even more difficult to raise money for the election campaign. The current parties and candidates can legally spend. In 1984, for example, the three major federal parties raised donations totaling \$25.5 million, compared with their combined spending of \$21.8 million (about \$3 million less than the ceiling) during the two-month campaign period. They did not, however, have \$23.8 million in the bank after the election. One can begin to see why, in some high-profile cases, notably polling, do not count in the calculations of the campaign spending.

In addition, governments raised in 1984 also had to cover their operating expenses in the 10 months before the year. Operating expenses are always high in the period leading up to an election call in parties due to each of their spending as possible before the campaign officially begins, which is when the spending books close into effect. Often they spend more in the run-up to an election than they do in the campaign proper. When the two-month period opening is added—and when allowance is made for the postal reimbursement of election expenses under the Election Expenses Act—the three big national parties had a combined deficit at 1984 of \$2.5 million.

As Lauchlin discovered at the provincial level during the 1980 Ontario election, the picture changes dramatically when the financial position of federal party candidates is examined. Candidates often carry handsome bank balances while their parties are drowning in red ink. Under the Election Expenses Act, candidates are not permitted to

the amounts they may spend. In the 1985 federal election, the limit averaged \$47,000 per candidate. But there is at least as the amount that candidates may raise, or on the size of contributions they may accept. For example, a total of 1,578 candidates, including independents and representatives of minor parties, contested the 1985 federal election.

They reported election expenses of \$27,341,494 plus personal expenses of \$12,732,536, for a total of \$13,074,032. However, thanks largely to the two-year regime, the candidates were able to raise \$22,532,618 in contributions. In addition, they collected \$12,734,558 in partial reimbursement of their election expenses. (Under the act, any candidate who gets 15 per cent of the vote is reimbursed for 50 per cent of his or her election expenses.) The bottom line: the 1,578 candidates had a total income of \$46,806,585 and expenses of \$43,807,434—leaving a surplus of \$12,929,154. That is, on average, a surplus per candidate of \$8,300.

The average Tory candidate had enough money left over in 1984 to cover half of his campaign. Parties use a portion of that money to pay the expenses of the candidates, with the exception of New Democrats, provided surpluses that were larger than their parties' deficits. Or, to look at it another way, the 394 Liberal candidates came out of the election with a combined surplus of \$4.1 million—enough to pay off the national party's accumulated debt—if the party had been able to get its hands on its candidates' surpluses. But it could not.

In politics, money is like water: it flows down from more wealthy than less wealthy. Parties use a portion of that money then must to subsidize campaign at the constituency level. Candidates, however, have a choice: what it comes to their surplus funds. They may transfer them to their party's national headquarters, never to be seen by them again. Or they do that. Or they may—on the two-party vote—keep the money in their hands by turning it over to their constituency association, to be used in their next nomination fight or election campaign.

It is not the way the Election Expenses Act was meant to function. It was never intended that candidates who succeed at taking as much

contributions than they require to cover their election costs should also enjoy the wealth of a reimbursement of expenses from public funds. It was never intended that candidates, raising money for a specific campaign, should be able to hoard it, too, for use in a future campaign. And it was never intended that the benefits, through the tax credit system and the reimbursement subsidy, should be added to undermine the erosion of constituency cash funds.

The public is not told how large these funds are. Candidates are obliged to report the amounts they raise and spend during the period of the election but usually just over 10 days. But successful candidates do not stop raising and spending money on election night. Many hold annual fund-raising dinners, cocktail parties, barbecues and other activities to build up their war chests. Some prominent but unnamed in reported estimates, are sitting on funds in the \$400,000-\$500,000 range.

Such huge funds give a sitting member the financial means to beat all challenges for his or her party's nomination in the next election, and they give him or her a huge stake, once the party's candidates enter the election is called. On the other hand, war chests attract parties, as has happened in several Toronto-area ridings. Incumbents try to take over a party's constituency association to get control of its bank account, then use the money to recruit the association away from the incumbent.

Stephen Harnett, the retired chief electoral officer, remembers the debate when a Commons committee was conducting a close-by check of the Election Expenses Act in the early 1970s. "Jimmy Walker, a Liberal backbencher from Toronto, mentioned the tax credits. They were a Canadian invention and nobody had ever attempted to use them, so far as I know. Nobody had any clue as to how much money they would generate. No one would they really being money of Jimmy Walker said, 'Well, what will happen if a candidate after an election has a surplus? What is going to happen?' Everybody laughed. Everybody said, 'Come on, Jimmy. That's impossible.' Well, it is turned out. He was the only one who was right."

The old stipend of an appointed member candidate expending his or her life savings in the pursuit of public office is no longer applicable. Today, relatively few major party candidates have to cash out their own pockets to finance their campaign. The tax credit has made money easy to come, and the reimbursement subsidy to candidates collecting 15 per cent or more of the vote has taken most of the financial risk out of running. There is something wrong with a candidate's organization if he or she does not finish with money at the bank.

The following list shows the campaign surpluses of a selection of new or former MPs after the 1986 federal election. The figures reflect

amounts received and expended during the period of the election, not only. They do not include amounts raised or spent before the elections were called or after voting day—amounts that candidates and constituency associations are not required to report. The surplus is the difference between the amounts collected in a campaign reimbursement received, and subtracting from this the candidate's campaign and personal expenses as reported by his official report.

| | | | |
|------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|----------|
| Barbara McDougall (PC) | \$208,219 | Joe Clark (PC) | \$42,392 |
| Paul Martin (Lib) | 93,449 | Don Menzies (PC) | 41,400 |
| James Stewart (Lib) | 90,292 | Bruce Munnings (PC) | 40,642 |
| Michael Wilson (PC) | 82,257 | Uday Anandji (Lib) | 37,140 |
| John Graham (PC) | 52,643 | Ery Housheer (PC) | 39,098 |
| Donald Boudreau (NDP) | 47,288 | Ed Broadbent (NDP) | 27,119 |
| John Turner (Lib) | 46,450 | Audrey McLaughlin (NDP) | 5,598 |

However, Canada's leading expert on election law, is not of many who worry that money is distorting the political system. While political parties struggle to pay their bills, candidates—current and past—are sitting on small fortunes. Their fortunes are largely built on public funds, through the tax credits and the reimbursement of expenses. Yet there is no chance at all one will have the money is said. He says:

"We [at the chief electoral officer] get a request and we see that the candidate has a \$90,000-old surplus, let's say, within the regulations under which we operate, because he or she obtained more than 15 per cent of the vote, they are entitled to reimbursement of half of their election expenses. So we send them a cheque for \$25,000, which is a lot of money. Then the money is transferred to the constituency association, which is not defined anywhere in law. We consider the loss of their money. We have an idea what it made of it."

"People were concerned that the Election Expenses Act would give the parties too much power, that the parties would have too much money and the candidates would still starve. It's just the opposite. The parties are starving. Some constituency associations have pretty fat bank accounts. Their surplus could be used for all kinds of purposes because it's pretty well the decision of whoever controls it—the constituency association, the private candidate, the sitting MP or one of his friends, or his wife, or whoever."

The most elite group in federal politics is the unofficial \$100,000 Club—candidates who have raised at least \$100,000 in contributions in a single election campaign (roughly eight weeks in duration) in the 1984 election. The club had just two members—Turner and Stelmach, who



Campbell in Vancouver, 1988: spending is difficult to police

A FRANTIC RUN FOR THE ROSES

Among several attributes that beset many political aspirants was among former Liberal candidates in Ontario, Lauchlin and Stelmach was an associate Larry Grossman, a member of the Conservative government of Ontario premier William Davis from 1977 to 1985.

Integrity is a precious asset in an electoral politics, as long as he does not let his ambition become too election. Backroom operators look for politicians who have an ability to move effortlessly through stressful daily routines.

Larry Grossman had that intensity. He wanted desperately to be premier, and he sought a single-mindedness in his career in Ontario politics. He could have been



Grossman: TD he there

in a terrible funk. And then, "Look down at the coffee table and start a little handwritten message urgent call for Larry Grossman. I keep in the house. Oh, My goodness, the premier's been looking for you." My heart's beating a hundred miles an hour. I'd like to see you this after-

noon, but he's leaving for Japan in 10 minutes. I said, 'No problem, I'll be there.' "It was raining like a ton of bricks and I'm driving on the highway and I'm going through red lights. I leave the car right in front of the restaurant. I jump out. It's raining hard and my suit's wet. I'm dripping, but I still look nonchalantly down the hallway to the premier's office. He offers me a cigarette and some conch and some conch. And I said 'Conch' to him at her uncle's house. We talked to each other about it, and the next day I will be unable to tell anybody why she was crying as we talked on the phone. They could not believe I called her that close to her decision to make 'D'



Stemfield in Montreal, 1976: a backyard bombshell about bankruptcy

runed \$113,763 in a living campaign at Winnipeg, and Michael Wilson, seen to be finance minister, who took in \$144,833 for his re-election bid in the Toronto suburb of Etobicoke. With fund-raising techniques becoming increasingly proficient, the club expanded to 39 members in the 1984 election.

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|
| Brian McDougall (pc) | \$130,626 | James Peterson (Lab.) | \$112,118 |
| Lesly Schooner (pc) | 124,784 | Gerry McNamee (pc) | 108,015 |
| Gerry St. Germaine (pc) | 123,427 | Paul Dick (pc) | 106,949 |
| Kan Campbell (pc) | 116,485 | Michael Wilson (pc) | 105,048 |
| Paul Martin (Lib.) | 114,070 | John Fraser (pc) | 101,770 |

Money gives power. Five of the 18 members of the \$100,000 Club in 1988 were members in the Mulroney government (McDougall, St. Germaine, McNamee, Dick, and Wilson). A sixth (Campbell) would join the cabinet after the election, and a seventh (Fraser) was a former minister who had become Speaker of the Commons. Martin would shortly run for the Liberal leadership (and lose to Jean Chrétien). Peterson was no stranger to power, he is the older brother of then Ontario Premier David Peterson. Only Schooner could be considered to be a backbencher. And of the 11, only one—St. Germaine—failed to win his seat at that 1988 election.

If three backroom managers were asked whether money was elections, they would come up with three different answers. Yes, No, and It Depends. It Depends comes closest to the mark. A party or a candidate must have a minimum amount of money—enough to be taken seriously and to pay for the essential elements of the campaign. The minimum is, in effect, an entry fee to the contest—be it a national or provincial election, constituency-level election or a leadership contest. At the other end of the spectrum, however, more is not automatically better. Beyond a certain point, additional spending may become counterproductive.

A party can waste so much money and effort on non-essentials that it loses its focus. Candidates may actually spend themselves out of contention—as Brian Mulroney did in his final five campaigns for the

Conservative leadership in 1978. Candidates are not comfortable with politicians who pursue a prize too actively, especially politicians who spend more in the pursuit than the prize seems to be worth. Somewhere between Not Enough and Too Much is the Right Amount to spend. As most seasoned campaign managers see it, the Right Amount will depend on the type of race being run (national, provincial, constituency or leadership), on the state of the competition, on the mood and expectations of the electorate, on any national or provincial trends that may be occurring, and on the profile of the spender.

Conservative spending would be out of keeping, for example, with the frugal ordinary-folk profile that the race cultivates, and it would jeopardize the chances of any NOF candidate as ill-received as to be seen spending too lavishly. Wendy Wilson, a union activist and campaign organizer who is now an Ontario civil servant, remembers working for Rosemary Brown as the 1975 star leadership campaign (won by Ed Broadbent, with Brown second). Somehow, the candidate managed to campaign within a spending limit of \$15,000.

At most stops, organizers booked a hotel room for the candidate only, but he or she would be asked with friends or paid for their own hotel rooms. Wilson and those others drove in a Volkswagen from Toronto to Winnipeg, site of the convention. They were there for eight days. "We were all broke," Wilson says. "We only had a couple of hotel rooms. We took turns going to sleep in shifts on floors and beds and chairs and stuff. Nobody slept. What I've never been able to figure out is how you spend \$3 million or \$5 million on a leadership campaign. If I had that kind of money, I wouldn't know what to do with it. Hospitality is a first line to walk in the race. Push hospitality suites with lots of free stuff and not well considered."

Leadership conventions defy any traditional cost-benefit analysis. As a general proposition, the candidate who spends the most money generally wins the leadership race. But leadership races are also generally won by the candidate who was the favorite when the race began. It is an open question whether the candidate was because he or she has the most money to spend, or whether the candidate is able to raise the most money because he or she is favored in his

Backroom organizers know that financial receipts are often a bad-



Reformer parties are frequently not well managed

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ger of a candidate's program. The flow of donations increases when candidates insist that a campaign is gaining momentum. In 1985, for example, both the Conservatives and the Liberals were in a tight race. But when the Conservatives still in power in Ontario, Bill Davis decided to retire. His industry minister, Frank Miller was the addition to the Liberals in a last-minute race to second place. Miller's first-cousin status was reflected in his fundraising. He collected more than \$1 million in contributions while spending "only" \$1,235,815 in his leadership campaign (he won on the third ballot).

By the same token, donations slow to a trickle when supporters sense that a candidate is floundering. But one thing is clear: a leadership candidate who has little apparent chance of winning when a race begins will not improve the odds by trying to spend his or her way to victory.

Increasingly, parties are advertising the problems—financial and personal—of excessive spending by imposing expenditure limits on leadership campaigns.

at the federal Liberals did, halfheartedly, in their 1990 race. When the high chair Audrey McLaughlin to succeed Ed Broadbent in 1989, each candidate was limited to \$150,000—or \$50,000 less than Nova Scotia Tories set for their provincial leadership campaign two years later. When the Ontario Liberals chose Lyn McLeod as their new leader in 1990, the spending limit was \$250,000.

Spending limits help level the playing field, but they are no perfect remedy. In most instances, the limits apply only to certain types of expenditure while exempting other types. A candidate's "personal" expenses, including all travel costs, are frequently exempted from the limit. When the Ontario Tories elected Michael Harris in 1990, the limit was officially \$500,000. It did not apply, however, to Harris' paid-to-campaign expenses, and would not, no to money spent on polling.

Spending limits established by parties are strictly enforceable. No party, after the last leadership contest has been taken down and the last billion burnt, is going to turn its candidate's financial reports over to its critics, accustomed to make sure that no one is underestimating his or her expenses. No party is going to stop its new leader of his or her position because the candidate acknowledges (or knowingly omits) Brian Mulroney refused to file the required financial report following his last attempt to win the Conservative leadership in 1976, the only candidate who failed to file. It never occurred to the party to stop to pay him back from running in 1983.

The Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, operating in 1990, recommended bringing national party leadership campaigns under the same general regulation that applies to general elections. Reports would have to be filed—including a preliminary report from each candidate by day before the convention notes. The treasurer's report would be filed. Candidates

AN ELABORATE MATING GAME

Campaign managers find alliances are relatively easy to keep when their candidates are a political yes. A more difficult contract, Peter Fackington, owner of the *Edmonton Oilers* hockey team, who was for the 1982 federal Conservative leadership in Ontario. Leachman and Stinson describe the frustrations of Fackington's handlers, Ralph Lenz and Gerald (Gerry) Gotsky.

The worst was yet to come. Each of the major candidates threw a big convention week party to which all 3,000 voting delegates, plus alternates and hang-

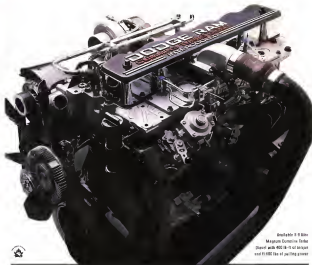
over, do to have two results come face-to-face at a third candidate's party—or for a candidate to arrive after the opportunity was waiting to win had left the convention. Brian Mulroney was invited as Fackington's delegates, and Fackington, knowing his chances of winning were slim indeed, was interested in being master of the house at a Mulroney gathering.

The Mulroney organizers contacted the Fackington organizers. Would it be convenient, they asked, if Brian were to drop in to greet his good friend Peter during Fackington's party? Why yes, it would, they were told. The party was scheduled to begin at 9 p.m., Fackington would speak at 9:30, and Mulroney would drop in at precisely 10:00. Not 10:05, not 9:55—10:00.

Then, Fackington drove into the party by announcing that he was taking his wife, Dee, out for dinner. Brian and Lenz had a woman standing by to drive the car. The candidate also had a full-time bodyguard, an ex-ROTC officer, as a result of a kidnapping accident about a year earlier in which Fackington had been shot in the arm by a man who tried to hold him for ransom. Lenz instructed the driver and bodyguard to take the Fackingtons to the restaurant, to wait for them, and to bring them back without fail by 9 p.m. Lenz recalls what happened next:

"We're up in the suite and there's a knock at the door at nine o'clock and it's this advance lady and the bodyguard. They said, 'There's gone!' I said, 'What do you mean he's gone? I've got 500 people waiting downstairs and Mulroney coming over.' They said he went into a restaurant in Ottawa. They were out front waiting and he looked at the time but didn't like it, got him up, took the keys from the advance lady and says, 'We're going to Hull.' I've got 500 people at this thing and no God damn candidate and as you know where he is."

It's 10:00 when Peter rolls in, and the driver did not arrive late. Mulroney, upon Peter's going to be there. It wasn't just our supporters. Everyone was there. There was this incredible curiosity because there was speculation—nobody knew—that Brian Mulroney was going to be there. Gotsky did not arrive. Mulroney's full-time Mulroney in another hotel and Fackington had reached the Château Laurier and made his speech. Then, the two-to-be prime minister just his courtesy call on the out-to-be finance minister. They shook hands. Mulroney left—and that was it. It



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data would be required to disclose the size and source of all contributions of \$350 or more.

And individual leadership contestants would not be allowed to spend more than 15 per cent of the amount that their party had less permitted to spend in the most recent election. The problem of enforcement, however, would remain. There is no way that parties can compel candidates to submit reports that account for every cent of their spending, even if they go over the limit. And when a convention is over, a party is preoccupied with looking the winners opened during the leadership campaign. The last thing it wants to do is to open new wounds by imposing sanctions on candidates who have exceeded the limit.

In fairness, it is impossible for candidates and their managers to maintain strict control over spending in the frenzy of a leadership race, particularly in convention years. John Rae gives a small illustration from the 1984 Ontario campaign: "A poll came out which showed that Mr. Chretien was more popular in the country than Mr. Turner. It was a significant poll, and we had a choice to make. The vote was on Saturday and the poll came out on the Friday, the day before. What do you do? You get a printed for all delegates. And that was \$1,000 or so, I forget the figure. These are things that you do."

Legislated controls on political financing address perceptions as much as they address real problems. But it is important that the public view the political process as being open, fair and honest. A legal requirement to disclose the source and use of contributions helps to dispel the perception that large corporations or wealthy individuals are able to influence politicians and government through their financial donations.

In practice, if federal agencies want to influence the political process, there are more effective ways to do it than through campaign contributions. A big businessman who wants special consideration for his company will gain more influence by, say, leasing a vacation home to a party leader or creating a job for a cabinet minister's spouse or depositing more than he will by making a \$50,000 campaign donation. And limits on campaign spending will not curtail the political parties or candidates. They simply spend heavily before the election vote is issued, then scale down during the campaign period.

In Canada, there is no obvious correlation between money spent and



Chretien in Ottawa (1982) money poured out the door during his doomed campaign

electoral success. "You can't buy an election because you're limited to the kinds of items you can buy on radio and television," says veteran Tory strategist Paul Corley. "If you want to buy an election, it's pretty hard to do. You can spend what you want in terms of written materials, but do they have any impact? A lot less than electronic communications."

Estimates of spending and voting patterns in 36 federal swing ridings in Ontario suggests that as long as the principal candidates have enough funds to be competitive, a few thousand extra dollars will make little or no difference. The 30 ridings are ones in which the spread between the winner and the second-place finisher in the 1984 election was 70 per cent or less of the vote cast. Money was no advantage—only 13 of the 30 contests were won by the candidate who spent the most. It was the same story in the same seats in the 1988 election—only 10 of the 30 went to the highest spender. Thirteen of those 30 swing ridings changed hands in 1986, but only one went to the highest spender.

Money is important in politics in Canada. It has the polling and the television time. It is the grease that keeps the machine running smoothly. But it is not the only thing that makes the political world go round. That is as it should be in a democracy. □

THE CHEQUEBOOK ON THE TABLE

Political campaign managers sometimes face moral dilemmas. Lasehanger and Zelnick decide on a weekend in 1984 when Lasehanger was managing Simon (Bud) Swick's bid to succeed William Bennett as Social Credit leader and B.C. premier.

While the votes were being counted following the first ballot at the convention centre in Vancouver, an opponent for William Van der Zalm approached Lasehanger and asked him to meet some people. Lasehanger was escorted to the basement of the centre, to the chef's office off the kitchen, where he was introduced to two prominent Vander Zalm friends and supporters. Peter Taga, owner of White Spot restaurants, and Ed-



Lasehanger: a meeting in the basement

gar Kerner, head of the Bank of British Columbia. A chequebook lay on the table in front of them.

They told Lasehanger that Vander Zalm was going to win (which Lasehanger already knew from Martin Goldfarb's polling). They gave him their predictions of Vander Zalm's first ballot vote. Lasehanger told them they were 30 per cent too high (which they were). In matter-of-fact tones, they asked whether Bud Swick was going to need any help to pay his campaign expenses. Lasehanger realized that Swick faced a large deficit. He also knew that he could have accepted a cheque without in any way sharing the outcome of the convention, because Swick was planning to support Vander Zalm anyway. But Lasehanger knew that it was better for his candidate to be broke than be compromised. Politely, he declined the offer. There was no further contact between the two campaigns. □

Sometimes you *can* judge by appearances.



Bush addressing workers at the Port of New Orleans; a bad week for the President's struggling re-election campaign

WORLD

WAVING THE FLAG

A cool breeze off the Mississippi River rustles his congressional papers, attending Larry Mackey looks his head in disbelief at the elaborate preparations for a presidential visit to the Port of New Orleans last week. As giant cranes lifted broken cranes and twisted metal from the old-collared Natchez Avenue wharf, cherry Republican volunteers plastered neatly stacked cargo containers with pro-Bush and pro-North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) banners and stapled red, white and blue paint to a faded truck where, the next day, George Bush would speak. Mackey, who had just finished unloading crates of Indonesian plywood from a Korean flagged freighter, col-

TRAILING IN THE OPINION POLLS, BUSH ACCUSES HIS DEMOCRATIC RIVAL OF UNPATRIOTIC BEHAVIOR

orribly described the trouble that the beleaguered President will face at the heliport but with the toughsmen, clerks and other workers who have watched the steady decline of the once-booming port. Said the stocky 52-year-old dockworker: "He's up to his ears in alligators and somebody's draining the swamp." Bushy made his third campaign run to Louisiana last week as an attempt to shore up his sagging support in the South—a vital electoral region, for more than a decade has been solidly Republican. And although the latest polls show Bush running neck-and-neck to the state with his Democratic rival, William Clinton, elsewhere there was gloomy news for the President's struggling re-election prospects

With just three weeks to go before the Nov. 3 vote, nationwide polls showed Bush trailing Clinton by as much as 14 percentage points as an underdog challenger for the first of three presidential debates, on Oct. 11 in St. Louis. Mr. Bush's campaign, Congress ended a grueling debate in the 66-year-old President by overruling his veto of a bill to regulate the cable television industry—the first such defeat in his four-year term of office. And nearly 600 economists, some of them Nobel Prize winners, endorsed Clinton's plan to revitalize the economy through government spending and tax breaks for business investment.

On the campaign trail, the President was slugging mad. During an interview on the Cable News Network's "Larry King Live" program, Bush questioned Clinton's patriotism as he challenged the Democrat to "level with the American people" about his avoidance of the draft during the Vietnam War. His participation in anti-war demonstrations while was Rhodes scholar at Oxford University in 1969 and a trip he took to Moscow the same year. "Level! Tell us the truth. And let the voters then decide who to trust or not," Bush demanded. He added: "Maybe I'm old-fashioned, but to go to a foreign country and demonstrate, when your sons and daughters are dying halfway around the world—I'm sorry, I just don't see it. I think it's wrong."

The Democrats were quick to counter the offensive. Clinton said that the President was using tactics "cooked up" by the far right of his party, and his campaign spokesmen, George Stephanopoulos, dismissed Bush's comments as "a desperate ploy by a pathetic politician." Stephanopoulos said that, if Bush "wanted help as much about what the American people are going through in 1992 as he does about what Bill Clinton did in 1969, we'd all be in much better shape." Another Clinton backer, retired admiral William Crowe, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said: "I strongly resent the implication that any candidate or any political party has a monopoly on patriotism."

The controversy swirled as Bush arrived on the New Orleans docks last Thursday. But as Louisiana, a traditionally conservative state that has sustained a 16-year record of prosperity by the collapse of the oil-export industry in 1982, and made waves by high unemployment rates and a growing population, many analysts said that the old flag-flying Republican sides pitch was no longer playing. Voters, they say, like Bush for his bettered economy and feel betrayed by his own administration.

Bushy made his third campaign run to Louisiana last week as an attempt to shore up his sagging support in the South—a vital electoral region, for more than a decade has been solidly Republican. And although the latest polls show Bush running neck-and-neck to the state with his Democratic rival, William Clinton, elsewhere there was gloomy news for the President's struggling re-election prospects

style clearly did not impress some members of the crowd. William King, an unemployed lawyer, for one, said that the deepening recession had eroded the chances of electing a Louisiana's economy and of creating new jobs. "People are sick and tired of the same old thing and want a change," he said.

Like many in the audience, Victor Boyd was clearly unimpressed by Bush's attack on Clinton. George Boyd, 52, said the 39-year-old candidate of the two. "All he can do is throw out unsubstantiated allegations about Bill Clinton—suggesting that he worked for the mob because he visited Moscow as a student and go on and on about his character," she added sharply. "These are not the issues. If he didn't get elected, we wouldn't mind and he doesn't deserve to be president anymore."

Nearly 200,000 workers, Joseph Jones and Rick Jones, who are not related, complained that they had lost four hours of pay because Secret Service agents had blocked their company's truck from entering the port authority grounds. The two men claimed Bush's record and cursed his visit for temporarily closing the port. "The river represents movement," and Joseph Jones, waving a phony tool towards the Mississippi. "But now we're at a steady standstill—you can count the ships that come in on one hand and the workers. Rick, whose company had cut his hourly pay to \$13 an hour from \$19 so that it could compete with non-union businesses. "The only people hurting are the working people."

The controversy of last week's Republican campaign strategy was Bush's appearance with former Missouri House Majority and Missouri President Carol Adams de Gortari at a ceremony in San Antonio, Tex., to unveil Bush's (page 54) But Bush's promise of more jobs through the free-trade deal seemed to have gone down as poorly in the Lone Star State as his promise to lift into the Louisiana docks of New Orleans. Many Texans appeared more concerned about the fight of jobs across the Rio Grande to Mexico than about the boost to the U.S. economy that Bush has promised the deal will provide. And despite Texas Republicans Sen. Phil Gramm's claim that NAFTA would prove to be "the most significant economic event that will occur in North America in the last half of this century," many analysts said that its potential impact on Texas likely was difficult to assess. Said James Collins, editor of the Texas Observer, a liberal political publication: "The Texas trade seems to be popular in South Texas. But I don't think the rest of the state really cares about the agreement."

Political analysts have begun to say that the election is now Clinton's to lose, and that a scorching hot debate about a military pact in southern participation in the three scheduled presidential debates but with the President hardly known for his analytical skills, that seemed an unlikely in the mighty Mississippi suddenly reversing its course.

HILARY MACKAY in New Orleans with CRIS MOORE in San Antonio

World Notes

WELL ON EARTH

In El Al cargo jet flying in Tel Aviv crashed onto two low-income apartment blocks in Amsterdam's south-eastern adjustment district shortly after 12:00 p.m. Tuesday. The four-story 51-bed house, said that the most number of dead may never be known because of the intense heat of the blast and because the victims may have evaded illegal immigrants whose presence in the country was unrecorded. Five immigrants pulling the death toll to 254 were reduced to 88 as many people were found alive. Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, who visited the scene, described it as "hell on earth."

A PRESIDENT FOR ESTONIA

The Estonian parliament chose first-chairman Lemmi Meri, 43, as the first post-Soviet president of the tiny Baltic republic. Although ex-Communist leader Arnold Kuusk was the most votes in last month's presidential election, he did not win a clear majority. As a result, the new right-wing parliament voted for Meri, a former foreign minister and diplomat.

WAR CRIMES

The UN Security Council voted unanimously to create a commission to investigate war crimes in the former Yugoslav republics. Officials in Bosnia-Herzegovina claim that at least 14,000 people have been killed and 37,000 are missing since fighting broke out in April between Bosnian Serbs and independence-seeking Muslims and Croats.

KUWAIT GOES TO THE POLLS

Members of parties critical of the ruling al-Sabah family won a majority of the 60 contested seats in Kuwait's first elected parliament in six years. Only 41,400 of the nation's 655,000 citizens—all of them men over 21 who could trace their family roots to 1958—were allowed to vote. New parliamentarians are expected to urge more government involvement in the public housing and have called for an investigation into the conduct of Kuwaiti authorities after Iraq's 1990 invasion.

CRACKDOWN IN PERU

Peruvian troops went on alert after retaliation shots were fired in a military patrol against Abimael Guzman, 57, leader of the Maoist Shining Path guerrilla group, to his imprisonment in a prison. Anti-terrorism police captured Guzman and 10 other rebel leaders last month, providing the heaviest blow to the guerrillas in their 13-year war on the Peruvian state.

A woman of substance

President Mary Robinson inspires national pride

It is just another working day at the gleaming white mansion on the outskirts of Dublin that serves as the home and office of the president of Ireland. In the morning, a delegation of guests (now known by the politically correct term "travelers") comes for tea and a chat. In the afternoon, it is the turn of a group of disabled youngsters from County Mayo to file nervously into an ornate reception room looking out onto acres of formal gardens. The tall, slim woman who receives them and puts them at ease is, of course, not, say much, she does not have to. Just being invited to take tea with President Mary Robinson is enough for most visitors, a recognition of their importance to a woman who has raised the symbolic gesture to a high art. "She's stretching this job to the absolute," confesses Terry Kaine, leader of the group that brought the children to meet the president. "Mary's wonderful," gushes another middle-aged woman with the group. "She's always taking us by surprise."

Robinson did it again last week when she became the first head of state to brave the horrors of Somalia, touring areas most affected by famine and personally appealing to rival warring to put down their guns. Images of politicians rushing to embrace disaster victims for cross-pollination advantage have become commonplace. But when Robinson faced-fed hungry children and spoke movingly of "smiling through tears" at their desperate parents, there was little room for cynicism. She crossed the United Nations and the European Community of "offering justice by acting slowly and the devastated people of Somalia." Clearly affected by their plight, Robinson added: "I cannot imagine how people in the developed world can stand by to make a telephone call, or make a cup of tea, so callously, just after they have seen images of Somalia on their TV screens." In Ireland, where campaigners gave the film of Africa with the lowest market coverage that they could devote to a capital case, there was unbridled pride. After decades of being represented abroad by grey men in dark suits, the Irish are settling on the new face that Mary Robinson shows to the world: elegant, eloquent and undeniably modern.

Indeed, after 21 months as the president's house in Phoenix Park on the edge of Dublin, Robinson has more than lived up to the excessive expectations that she aroused when she won a seven-year term as Ireland's first female head of state. At 48, she is fit and away the country's most popular public figure, with approval ratings topping 80 per cent. She has reinvented the office of Ireland's president, a ceremonial function roughly equivalent to that of Canada's governor general, which had become little more than a retirement home for elderly male politicians.

She has used it to focus attention on groups that had long been shoved to the margins of Irish political life, and to build bridges to Northern Ireland. And she has done it all at a time when Ireland's traditional political and clerical elites are widely discredited, and the predominantly Roman Catholic country is using these as a mask to pretend no examination of such fundamental social issues as divorce and abortion. This government last week announced a referendum on abortion rights on Dec. 30. Her influence in

subtle but unmistakable. John Waters, author of a recent study of Irish politics called *Jesus at the Crossroads*, astutely calls her "the most subversive force in the country."

Robinson's influence is all the more remarkable because of the unconstrained powers of the office she holds. The president is constitutionally barred from speaking out directly on political issues, perhaps the ultimate irony for a woman who holds passionate views on the most controversial issues in Ireland. As a compelling lawyer in the 1970s and 1980s, she campaigned for women's emancipation to make the country's traditional Catholic heart skip a beat: the right to divorce, freedom of choice for women on abortion, equal rights for homosexuals, and raising down the Irish Republic's claim to sovereignty over Northern Ireland. But as president, she had to put her legal language aside and learn a new vocabulary of gesture and symbolic force of her favorite words. It is a style of leadership that owes much to the example of Czechoslovakian playwright-turned-president Václav Havel, among others. "Sometimes," she told *Maclean's* in an interview at her official residence in the 1980s as she left for Somalia, "quite modest steps, if they have symbolic weight, then and appeal to people, can have a significant effect on attitudes."

Robinson's symbolic gestures have left no doubt where she stands on social issues. Previous presidents limited their formal engagements to such anti-peace affairs as receiving foreign ambassadors. But the list of groups that Robinson has visited or visited in Asia as *United Nations* (The House of the President) reads like a roll call of the dispossessed, disfranchised and despised.

She has attended riots as a prisoner, entertained organizers from a centre for battered wives, visited homeless women's groups in slum villages, and recently visited members of gay and lesbian groups to visit her last country where homosexual acts are still illegal, that is an enormous gesture. "It means we're good enough to take tea with the president," says David Norris, a senator and longtime campaigner for gay rights, "and they won't have to feel the coldness afterwards." Norris was pleased at the invitation, but not surprised. In 1988 he was a ruling from the European Court of Justice condemning Ireland's laws on homosexuality—and his lawyer was Mary Robinson.

At the same time, Robinson has been careful not to present herself as an advocate for radical social change. She has gone out of her way to endorse traditional women's groups as well as feminists, clearly conscious that she can play her role as a national symbol only if she remains appealing to conservative members of society. She proved, wrote John Waters, "that as moving towards 'new Ireland' it is neither necessary nor advisable to leave the 'old Ireland' behind." Ireland has the lowest rate of married women working outside the home in the European Community, making it essential to reassure more traditional women that social change like legalised divorce would not threaten them. "If women didn't value the work of women



Robinson: elegant, eloquent and modern

who stay at home, how is society going to value it?" Robinson once asked.

The president has also broken new ground in Ireland's touchy relations with Britain, its neighbor and former colonial master. She became the first Irish president to visit mainland Britain, and the first to make an official visit to Northern Ireland (previous presidents went south of the border only for such functions as funerals). In fact, Robinson has visited Northern Ireland four times, and has made a special point of visiting delegations from the North in Dublin. Last month, she went to the northern town of Banbridge and led flowers at a monument to the 18 victims who were killed there in a 1987 bomb blast by Irish Republican Army guerrillas. Earlier, she had visited the family of Thomas Oliver, a Protestant farmer killed by the IRA, to visit her. Both gestures were open rebukes of the IRA—a departure from the reluctance of many Irish politicians to condemn the organization unequivocally.

Her visit to the North, she said, provided the most poignant memories of her last 21 months in office—especially a visit in May to the city of Derry (which Protestants call Londonderry). "To walk through the streets of Derry to such warmth was something to celebrate," she recalled. And by visiting mixed groups—Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists and Anglicans—in Dublin, "I think I've got past that house of the headline images of Northern Ireland," she said. "By doing that I also convey a message to the republic that there's a great deal happening there that doesn't get seen."

Robinson has experienced some of those special certainties of distance in her private life, as well. Both her parents were prosperous Roman Catholic doctors in the west coast town of Ballina, where Mary was known locally as a shy, reserved girl. When she married Nicholas Robinson, a fellow lawyer and sometime columnist for the *Irish Times* in 1970, her parents refused to attend the wedding because he came from a Protestant family. The rift was quickly smoothed over, and the couple by all accounts enjoy a model family life with their three children, aged 26, 18 and 11.

The biggest asset of Robinson's personality may be on the stage that Irish people give themselves. The Irish have always been proud of their poets and politicians, but in recent years they have had little to celebrate in their scandal-ridden political life and their status as one of Europe's poorest countries. Philosopher Richard Kearney, who helped Robinson write her acceptance speech as president, says that she embodies a new pride in being Irish—and breaks the old nationalist mould in which Irish politics have long been set. "We've had it on stage, screen and the written page," he reflected. "Now we have it in politics. As a nation deprived of political power and self-expression for so many centuries, we now see ourselves as having a national leader who is modern and internationalist—and that gives people a lot of pride."

Robinson herself says that being part of the EC means that Ireland can think of itself as one of 12 equal partners rather than staying in the shadow of its old enemies, Britain. "It has released us from the burden of defining ourselves almost exclusively in terms of our relationship with Britain, with all that burden of history," she said. And that new self-confidence, she continued, allows the Irish to engage in more vigorous debate on contentious social issues. "If you're defensive," explained Robinson, "you're not as likely to engage in healthy self-criticism." The potentially scarring debate about abortion and divorce guarantees that there will be no shortage of that—and plenty of opportunities for Robinson to employ her special brand of moral leadership.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Dublin

THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES

The road to reform

Russia and Ukraine take separate routes

Travelers flying into Kiev from Moscow are few signs that they have crossed an international border. They encounter no passport controls at Ukraine's Boryspil Airport, and Russian military planes fly in and out of the international airport on a daily basis to the Ukrainian capital, 50 km to the south. But Ukraine has been a separate state since December, 1991, when voters overwhelmingly endorsed independence in a referendum that effectively drove the Soviet Union into collapse. Since that collapse, Russia and Ukraine have retained close cultural and economic links between them: the two Slavic neighbors still account for 70 per cent of the trade within the old union. But profound differences are emerging between the two states. Ukraine's leaders have chosen not to follow Russia's shock-therapy approach to establishing a market economy, preferring those policies as harsh and unnecessary. And most Ukrainian politicians are opposed to reversing political ties to Moscow. Said Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk recently: "We are destined to live side by side as neighbors but each in his own free home, not in a shared apartment."

Russia and Ukraine are both members of the nascent Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the loose association of former republics that succeeded the Soviet Union. But although Kravchuk helped to create the 11-member Commonwealth—Georgia and the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are not members—he has worked hard to ensure that there would be no CIS control over government that might change Ukraine's self-rule. Last week, the CIS appeared to be closer than ever to the role that Kravchuk once predicted for it: a mere transactional stage. At a recent meeting in Baku, the capital of the southern republic of Azerbaijan, there was one less head of state at the table after Azerbaijan's legislature formally voted to leave the Commonwealth. And many analysts predicted that more defections are likely.

In the post-Communist era, CIS leaders have sought solutions to the armed conflicts spreading across the old empire. Civil strife in Georgia, Tajikistan, Armenia and Azerbaijan are on the agenda in Baku, as well as an even larger issue: who should control the former Soviet nuclear arsenal. Under an earlier agreement, CIS forces under Marshal Yuryy Shapovalov are to control nuclear weapons until 1994—when Russia is scheduled to become the sole nuclear power in the former union. But, citing growing instability in the CIS, Shapovalov is calling for immediate Russian

control over the briefcase containing the launch codes for strategic nuclear missiles. Ukraine immediately balked at giving Russia sole control of the nuclear arsenal. Prominent Ukrainian politicians, including Vyacheslav Chornovil, Kravchuk's chief rival in last year's presidential race, argue that retaining nuclear weapons would underline Ukraine's recently won status as an important European power.



perpetrators and a past ability to climb to the top ranks of the Communist party. As Ukraine and Russia slide toward economic collapse, the two leaders are now facing stiff criticism for their policies to combat falling industrial production and soaring inflation. But while powerful industrial managers in Russia argue that Yeltsin will generate mass unemployment through too-hasty plans to convert state enterprises to private ownership—a radical program championed by neopopulist acting prime minister Yegor Gaidar—Kravchuk stands accused of freezing the old structures and doing little to transform Ukraine's centrally directed economy. Said Vladimir Filenko, one of the government's fiercest critics in the congressionally-dominated state assembly: "The Communist amendments [party elite] that was in power yesterday and the day before yesterday is still in power today."

Certainly, Kiev has nothing to match Mos-



Kravchuk (left), Yeltsin: profound differences in style and approach

Strengthening Ukraine's independence has been Kravchuk's prime concern since he became president 10 months ago. At the same time, he has been careful to prevent outright disputes with Russia from deteriorating into dangerous confrontations. Russia and Ukraine cooled off one hot issue by agreeing to operate the Black Sea fleet jointly until 1996—when they will divide the warships between them. Russia benefits from that compromise because it retains access to a former Soviet naval force that is largely based in Ukraine's Crimean peninsula. Russia claims to the region itself were a source of tension between the two great neighbors last summer. But Russian President Boris Yeltsin deflected that issue by refusing to support nationalist demands for the return of the peninsula, which the Kremlin granted to Ukraine in 1954 to celebrate 300 years of Russian-Ukrainian union.

Those settlements made, Kravchuk and Yeltsin have more in common than ulcers.

His paternal ancestry of the Communist party's past. Indeed, former Soviet justice minister Mikhail Gorbachev has become entangled in the legal machinery of a constitutional court investigation into the role of the former party, which Yeltsin founded in 1990. Gorbachev, the party's leader from 1985 until his resignation last year, has refused to testify, saying that the hearings are politically motivated and a show trial reminiscent of the Stalinist era. In response, the court has fined Gorbachev a token 500 rubles (U.S. cents) and the government has ordered him from leaving the country.

Gorbachev suffered another setback last week at the hands of Yeltsin, the man who now occupies his former office as the Kremlin. On Oct. 7, the Russian president ordered the seizure of the five-building complex that houses the International Centre for Social and Political Research—the think-tank known in the West as the Gorbachev Foundation. That plush complex was part of a retirement package that

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Yeltsin granted Gorbachev when he left office last December—an condition that he would not speak out against Yeltsin's policies. But Gorbachev has hardly embraced Yeltsin's performance in office—and has even called on him to resign. As a result, Yeltsin has publicly humiliated his old rival by assigning him of such menial of high status as a country house and a 24 limousine.

Gorbachev's position in certain to the chance among his many supporters in the West. But most Russians display little sympathy for him. Communist legends have him for destroying the party, and advocates of economic change blame him for delaying reforms.

Krivitskiy, by contrast, remains Ukraine's most popular politician. Part of that success is due to a lukewarm alliance that he subtly forged last year with key leaders of Pukh (movement), a loose organization of nationalist groups that began the drive to free Ukraine from Russian domination. In return, Kravchuk has worked to protect Ukraine's



Separatist militiamen in Georgia: armed conflicts are spreading

fragile independence through such measures as building up the country's armed forces to a projected strength of more than 500,000 men. The yellow-and-blue Ukrainian flag now flies over the national legislature in Kiev, and the trident, the country's national symbol, has

supplanted the hammer and sickle of communism. In documents bearing these new symbols, the Kravchuk administration has trumpeted its ambition of breaking up Ukraine's heavily endowed state monopolies. But so far, Ukraine has managed only a single economic reform—the lifting of retail price controls—and has not transferred any state enterprises to private hands.

Meanwhile, Ukraine's bygone (postwar), an interim currency introduced in an attempt to restrict access goods to Ukraine's citizens, has depressed sales against the barterful ruble. Trading at per cent last year, it now takes roughly 1.5 degrees to obtain a ruble—a currency that itself took to new lows last week, dropping from 240 to 1 U.S. dollar.

After five driftings, the government's program for regional reform, one of the old regime's Marxist manuals on running a centrally planned economy. Under the recently released north drift of its plan, the government would scatter its main firm grip on the economy. Kiev would continue to operate steelworks and other heavy industries, impose price controls on basic goods, transportation and housing—and play these wages as well. Unleashing that last month, government spokesman Roman Shepik draws to present of an intermediate step from government monopoly to private ownership. Shepik says: "We used to have a totalitarian, command-administrative system. What we propose now is centralized management, where government will influence but not direct or control economic activity."

Similar sentiments have been advanced by Andriy Volody, spokesman for a powerful lobby representing the managers of Russia's state industry. In Kiev last week, Volody addressed a conference of Ukrainian industrialists where he blunt message—that U.S.-style capitalism will never work in the former Soviet Union—fell on receptive ears. Volody and many Ukraine industrialists argue that a disconnection in massive state subsidies to industry will generate widespread unemployment and social turmoil—and wreck any chance of economic reform. That is a message that also appears to be reaching Seltan. In a speech denouncing his economic record before the Russian parliament last week, he eloquently attacked Volody while offering only lukewarm support for his own prize winner's radical economic program. Despite their recent political divorce, Moscow and Kiev could now be grasping towards a common goal: a more measured dismantling of the failed Communist system.

MALCOLM GRAY in Kiev

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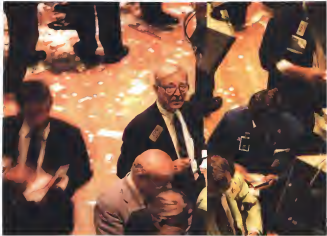
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A GATHERING STORM

**EDGY MARKETS
REFLECT GROWING
GLOBAL CONCERN
ABOUT PROSPECTS
FOR RENEWED
ECONOMIC GROWTH**

Fore years ago, on Oct. 19, global stock markets collapsed like balloons being run. On that single day, which coincided up the glass of the 1929 market crash, shareholders lost their profits and financial rewards lost their reputation, then their jobs. And everyone's confidence in the economy began to slowly leak away. Now, the financial markets are edgy, hundreds of thousands of white- and blue-collar workers around the world have been laid off and the economy still cannot gather enough momentum to haul itself out of the trough. The recession, which most economists initially predicted would end in a so-called soft landing almost before it started in 1990, is approaching its third anniversary—and still shows no signs of loosening its grip on the economy. "I don't think this recession is over by any means," said Leon Ther, an investment analyst with his own company in Vancouver. "There has never been another time, in my life, with a situation like this. The central bank has been stimulating (cutting interest rates) for two years and nothing happens."

Although most analysts say that the economy will not deteriorate much further, financial markets have displayed a new nervousness and volatility in recent weeks. Lower interest rates continue to be the key factor on which economists and politicians are hanging their hopes for a recovery. Again last week, the markets reacted hopefully for the U.S. Federal Reserve Board to lower the discount rate and ultimately stimulate spending. But that did not happen, and by the end of the week the Canadian bank rate had climbed to 7.93 per cent, the highest level in almost a year and the fifth consecutive increase in the weekly rate. Now a gloomy memory is haunting back to the Great Depression of the 1930s, while warning that lower interest rates, no lower rates, may no longer be enough to get the economy moving again.



A floor trader on the New York Stock Exchange, hoping for lower bank rates

"The economy looks like it is going into a third dip," said A. Gary Shilling, president of an economic consulting and investment firm in Springfield, N.J. He added: "We haven't had anything like this since the 1930s." Even the government's acknowledgment that the differences between the 1930s and the 1990s are numerous. Economic output in the current recession has fallen by only a fraction of what it did during the Great Depression (page 54). But even more importantly, the international financial network that exists now is much more sophisticated. In the 1930s, the banking sys-

tem weakened havoc on the faltering economy by raising interest rates and tightening credit in a misguided effort to correct debt problems. Until 1933, Canada did not even have a central bank to monitor the economy and regulate the money supply and interest rates. In addition, the creation of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as well as the growing realization of the leaders of industrialized countries to work together in areas of global trade and finance, has increased the likelihood of countries co-operating to solve financial problems. "The regulatory network is there and it

has policies, fiscal and monetary, that can be relied on to prevent a global decline," said Gerald Suss, chief economist at London Life Insurance Co. in London. "One of the clear messages from the last IMF meeting was that if push came to shove, there would be sharp reductions in short-term interest rates and a large increase in global liquidity [money supply]."

Despite such widespread confidence in the power of global financial consultation, one lead-

ing economist in a 1992 paper and still believes "No country, particularly the United States, can afford the attitude that economists will correct themselves." Now, at the depth of recession with the danger of prolonged stagnation protruding itself, he said simply: "No one is doing anything at all."

Although Bernheim says that he does not expect the recession to turn into a deep depression, he added that governments should do much more to avert a recovery and get the unemployed back to work. Although he said fellow economist John Maynard Keynes clashed over issues at the Macmillan-Bretton Woods economic conference in the rolling hills of New Hampshire in 1946, Bernheim is in complete agreement with Keynes. "If our basic government policy should be used during times of severe economic recession. And now, Bernheim says, it is time for authorities to shift their focus from fighting their budget deficits to stimulating the economy and creating jobs."

Indeed, even though the depth of the U.S. recession is shallow as measured by the drop in the economy's output in terms of the gross domestic product, the duration is already more than twice as long as in 1982. "It is not long for a country to have 10-per-cent unemployment for three months," said Bernheim. "It is something to have it for three years."

Canada's unemployment statistics for September underscore the persistence of the problem. The seasonally adjusted rate dropped to 11.4 per cent from 11.6 per cent in August. But even though the rate edged down, the total number of people officially unemployed amounted to a staggering 1,634,000 individuals, not even including those so discouraged they had given up looking for work.

Increasingly, Canadian economists are beginning to echo Bernheim's call for government action. Lloyd Atkinson, chief economist and executive vice-president of the Bank of Montreal in Toronto, is forecasting that the economy in 1993 will be just slightly better than it was in 1992. Even so, Atkinson says that he would welcome a more aggressive government. "The thing that is scary to me in the United States is movement towards investment, investment in education and training and in infrastructure," Atkinson said. "Ultimately, if the government undertakes projects that are approved, they will not have to pay for themselves."

But Atkinson is not alone in saying that government stimulation "tinkers up the competitive test." He added: "The days of bailing roads to nowhere are gone—any project would have to significantly improve our productivity." In some places in the United States, he said, trucks are crisscrossing by several hundred kilometers to avoid roads that have culverts or

Business Notes

ZIPPING UP A MERGER

Air Canada and PMA Corp., parent of Canadian Airlines International Ltd., announced last week that their boards of directors had signed an agreement setting the terms and conditions of the proposed merger of the two airlines. The terms of the agreement were not made public. However, Howard Weisler, director of the federal Bureau of Competition Policy, which has to approve the merger, said that PMA has to prove that Air Canada is the only serious suitor for Canadian Airlines by hiring an investment banker to work alternatives.

A NEW BOSS

A spokesman for Royal Trust Ltd., Canada's second-largest trust company, with assets of \$36 billion, announced that Joseph Miller, a senior consultant with Deloitte & Touche, will take over as chief executive officer of Royal Trust effective on Jan. 1. He succeeds Michael Cornelsen, who resigned in September after the Toronto-based company reported its first-ever loss in 1990.

AN 18-YEAR SCANDAL

The Supreme Court of Canada refused to hear an appeal of a lower-court ruling that stripped John Doyle, 77, former chairman of Canadian Jarvis Ltd., of his 15-per-cent stake in Jarvis and ordered him to repay the company \$5.5 million for alleged fraud against Jarvis and its shareholders. Doyle, who started one of Canada's largest running companies, said, But in Toronto in 1974. He said that he may appeal the case to the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

CHANGES AT THE TOP

Three senior executives of Magna International Inc. of Toronto resigned to start their own companies last week. The executives, who were part of the company's financial team during the company's financial turnaround in the past two years, Magna chairman Frank Stronach said that he will hire a senior U.S. auto executive as part of a new management team.

BACK ON TRACK

After an eight-month slowdown, work resumed on the Alberta oil pipeline project. Construction of the site was completed in February when one partner in the \$2-billion project, Gulf Canada Resources Ltd., withdrew. The remaining partners led by 800 people and delayed their announced production target by one year, to 1997.

budgets that cannot support their needs. By improving those needs, he said, the government must increase productivity.

Government intervention, however, can also have a negative impact on the economic climate. Philip Breverman, chief economist and senior vice-president of the New York City-based law Secoritz, a subsidiary of Davis Kahnig Benck Ltd., the world's largest bank, says that he is deeply worried about the state of the economy and the government's role in worsening it. "Things are getting worse, not better," said Breverman. "The regulatory authorities and the Federal Reserve do not realize the desperate stage the economy is in. They do not recognize the damage that they are doing."

Breverman said that he is especially concerned about the tight credit conditions that U.S. regulators are imposing on the financial system. "We have never had a recovery without significant credit growth," said Breverman, but now the financial system is restricting credit. "The regulators are tightening screws and making it more difficult for lenders to lend. The end result is that they are permeating, doing counterproductive things." Breverman says that the problem will escalate after Dec. 31, the date set by legislation for the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. to begin closing U.S. banks and savings-and-loan companies that do not meet new minimum capital standards. The effect of that legislation will be to tighten credit even more. "It is not a pretty situation," said Breverman. "And if you think things are bad now, wait."

Breverman said that the deteriorating economy and the reluctance of government officials around the world to address the problem resembles that of the Great Depression, when many of the economic policies that governments pursued were the reverse of what was needed. "They are doing it again," he said, recalling that when President Franklin D. Roosevelt first took office in 1933, he increased taxes to balance the budget. In addition to that step, the Federal Reserve raised interest rates by a percentage point to defend the dollar.

Japan is apparently the only major industrialized country taking a significantly different approach to its economic problems. In August, the Japanese government took drastic action to stimulate the economy. It granted to export \$165 billion into the economy to shore up the real estate market and to actively support the

housing system. "How successful they will be is unclear, but at least they are doing something to deal with the problem," said Breverman. "It seems to me that we don't even recognize that we have these problems." He added, "In this day, the President keeps saying that we are poised for recovery. I do not agree. I am in a poor position for optimism at this time."

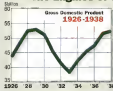
Gary Shilling shares a similarly gloomy view of the future. Shilling's opinion may deserve special attention because of his early warnings

Three years later, his opinions have changed little. "We're overvalued at the moment of the 1980s in terms of huge debt creation," he said. "Ultimately, after we've had these big debt tapers it takes about 10 years to work out the excesses, and during that time the economy tends to have longer than normal recessions and weaker than normal recoveries." Indeed, by comparison with past periods, Shilling noted that as far as the negative effects have been milder than he initially anticipated. "It has been unusually orderly," he said. "Look at the whole

The Toronto Stock Exchange 300 Index



The Engines of the Economy



of an expanding economy and has clear predictions about how it would unfold. In October, 1933, most of the Atlantic Monthly magazine, Shilling predicted a near-term global recession. At that time, he wrote: "The world's debt load has far outstripped its collateral, whether you are talking about the Third World, financial corporations, consumers, everything. It will take a major global recession to force a debt restructuring. But even coming out of the recession there will be a heavy battle for exports—there is a lot of extra capacity coming on-line in the developing countries—and a protectionist scramble. Governments will not help. Military spending is dropping. Star Wars will turn into Trade Wars. It is hard to foresee a happy recession even larger than."

According to Shilling, a variety of major global events could still derail the economy. The most upheaval in the financial markets could be a mix of things to come. "The market is going through four major negative consequences: concern and finally loss and panic," said Shilling. "As of last Friday [Oct. 2], the stock market began to get concerned."

Can fear and panic be far behind? The frightening possibilities are enough to make even the pessimists hope that they are badly mistaken.

BARBARA DALLGREN

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Signing NAFTA agreement in San Antonio, Tex., last week: growing uneasiness about the economic fallout from free trade

Back to the Alamo

NAFTA faces a long road to approval

The setting at the south Texas city of San Antonio for the signing of the legal first of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was perfect. In an open-air ceremony under the spreading branches of ancient oak trees, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, President George Bush and Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari looked on as their respective trade ministers in representation signed the 2,000-page document. The event took place just six blocks south of the Alamo, the fabled mission-turned-church where 6,000 Mexican troops killed all 133 defenders—including such American heroes as Davy Crockett and Jim Bowie, during a battle for Texas independence in 1836. Last week, however, the three leaders candidly declared that the greatest obstacle to San Antonio will remain that Americans, Mexicans and Canadians will all be on the same, warring side. Said Bush: "All three of us felt that this was something that will be remembered in history, the signing of this agreement," added Chrétien. "It is undeniable that each of our three countries will grow stronger and more prosperous as we trade

increases with the implementation of NAFTA." Still, the ceremony was largely symbolic—and according to some NAFTA critics, it was also mismanaged, primarily to augment Bush's image as an accomplished statesman and not his lobbying campaign for re-election on Nov. 3. In fact, there was no legal requirement for Bush—or Mexican President Salinas—to be on hand as International Trade Minister Michael Wilson, U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills and Mexican Commerce Secretary Javier Saldaña completed the last steps of the ratification process. But at a briefing in San Antonio, Wilson insisted that it was important for Bush, Chrétien and Salinas to attend the ceremony to help promote trade liberalization. "Having the leaders of the three countries here certainly puts a focus on it that would not be the case had the three ministers done it as a less auspicious setting than this," he added.

If NAFTA takes effect as scheduled on Jan. 1, 1994, it will create the world's largest trading zone, with 363 million people and a gross domestic product of \$1 trillion. But 60 per cent likely to be risky in both Canada and the United States. In Canada, where opponents of

the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement Matter is for the loss of the thousands of jobs, growing numbers of critics are rejecting the argument that eliminating trade barriers will lead to lower prices, faster economic growth and more efficient industries. A Gallup poll released last last month showed that 68 per cent of Canadians surveyed said that exports would be bad for Canada, up from 52 per cent in April 1990.

In the United States, Bush faces an increasingly protectionist Congress and an apparently in the presidential election campaign Arkansas Gov. William Clinton, who is ahead by as much as 14 per cent in some opinion polls. For his part, Clinton who had wavered on free trade earlier in his campaign, announced his conditional support for NAFTA on Oct. 6. He said that Congress should pass "supplemental" legislation to ensure that U.S. environmental standards are upheld and to help 600,000 workers whose jobs may move to Mexico, where labor is cheaper.

As a result, say some political analysts, congressmen could shut NAFTA from its so-called fast-track approval process. Wilson, however, told *Money* that he believed that NAFTA will gain approval regardless of who is in the White House. "We should be able to see this approved by a new administration or there is a change," he said. "And while there will be a number of new faces in Congress, I think considerable will prevail." Only in Mexico, where Salinas's Institutional Revolutionary Party has been in power for 65 years, is NAFTA likely to pass without

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Inventing a new Canada on Oct. 26

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

With less than two weeks to go, it's becoming clear that the Oct. 26 referendum results will only marginally be concerned with a new diet on the Charlottetown accord. The vote has gotten away from both the Yes and No camps.

Every Canadian government since the Prime Minister's election of the early 1980s has been promising Canadians "participatory democracy." Suddenly we've got it, and the results are shattering this country along deep, dangerous and unpredictable fault lines.

No prime minister in recent times has asked Canadians directly what they think about a great issue. To do so, as Brian Mulroney has done, particularly in times as volatile as these, has proven to be unexpectedly disruptive. None of the party strategists could have predicted how explosive a vote of five and numerous would be triggered by the Oct. 26 pollster. When the referendum was called, through the euphoria that followed the F.E.I. agreement, polls indicated up to a 70-per cent approval rating. Canada's ruling classes loved the deal: getting the people's consent seemed like an easy job.

A month later, so-called *chicken polls* and howling leagues are split on the issue. No one seems to be able to love it, hate it or keep their thoughts private. And what they're mostly saying about is not the substance of the accord, but as nations. What Canadians are saying is not that one political party could govern any better than the next, but that meaningful decision-making powers can only be entrusted directly to the people. They're asking that from now on, governing at my level and in every region must take on a deeper meaning than the exchange of favors among successive phantoms of subsequent leaders who keep the established system going, mostly in their direction. The idea of a political party acting as an organized appetite for power is dead. Canadians will no longer accept George Bernard Shaw's war drama that, "If people cannot have what they believe

The constitutional referendum results will shatter this country along deep, dangerous and unpredictable fault lines

in, they must believe in what they have." Individually and collectively we have lost the momentum that came from people taking common cause with their legislators. That feeling is lapsed on, but extends way beyond politics. We have been cast apart from the anchors of the past. Our religious institutions have been tested by the revolutions of clinical child abuse, the church's banks, which once acted as our financial father confessor, turn out to have thoughtlessly shuffled billions of dollars into the coffers of a company too arrogant to show them any balance sheets—and then kept looting the Roman Catholic brothers' money, even after some of their best buildings were bulldozed with their worshipers.

Nothing and no one is sacred anymore. What has hurt the Yes vote most is not so much the widely mistrusted of the constitutional accord, but that so much of it has to be taken on faith—taken on faith when there is no longer any sustaining faith in the crown or in the rule of law of general principle. Two developments last week emphasized the traumatic nature of the accord. The first was Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells's ability to have the legal wording altered to ensure that the powers of the Senate and

Commons be made parallel; the second was that some women were able to change another element that threatened their sense of equality. Both reforms strengthened the conviction of the No side that the vote was not a final agreement and is still open to renegotiation, which is one of the main reasons for opposing the deal. Up to now, federal negotiators have insisted that nothing could be changed.

Most damaging of all was the startling disclosure of David Stewart, one of the accord's architects, that if the current deal is rejected, a better one could quickly be renegotiated. That already opened the fact that what happened in Charlottetown was a creative event, the culmination of several decades of endless bargaining. It was one of those rare historical moments that will not copy again.

As equally devastating blow was dealt to the accord by formerly one of its most ardent defenders, B.C. Constitutional Minister Mike Sison. Interviewed by a Radio Canada reporter in Quebec last week, Sison said that Robert Boudreau "came to the table and ran to a brick wall. He lost. Now, guys behind him in the eyes and so on." That forced the Quebec premier to defend himself as more than against the false accusations that he had lost; he had lost. Of course, he didn't get everything he wanted, but neither did the Quebec Liberals. He feels like Bill Clinton, the U.S. president, and needs new enemies.

Regardless of the accord's eventual fate, if the No side wins on Oct. 26, as the polls now indicate, anger and frustration will not be diffused on Oct. 27. The country will have been sold into warning ranges that will have nothing to do with the old party lines. The fact that most Canadians will almost certainly oppose the ability of the leaders of the political parties to which they belong—or for which they have traditionally voted—is a starting document from the fact that such a deal on 111 Canadians were to follow the advice of their national party leaders, 85 per cent of the vote would approve the accord.)

After the referendum battle is over, we won't be able to go back to the traditional ways of running this country. Even if the Yes side were to win, the deeply antagonistic sentiments of the No side would have to be taken into account. The political and institutional realignments required will be horrendous.

The No vote reflects a desperate people's anger with the dismal state of the economy and all those factors that have been shattered. Their production line is gone south in the United States or Mexico. (We finally remember a time when the Canadian dollar was still a serious currency.) The system by which this country has operated in the past doesn't work anymore. Federal power is necessary for the past 125 years hasn't been enough to defend with the real issues. Social contracts no longer shape our lives, we prefer to plot our own journey to self-interest.

The referendum will be the first act in the reformation of this country. Canada may not disappear, but Canada as we know it is dead and about to be buried.

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DIRE PROJECTIONS

London-based author Phyllis (P. 3) Jones is known for such realistic murder mysteries as the best-selling *Devil on the Doorstep* (1990). But her new novel, *The Children of Man*, is set in the 21st century—25 years after the last child is born, when the human race is on the verge of extinction after a mysterious disease has left it sterile. "I read about a dramatic fall in the sperm count of men across the world," said Jones. "Then I discovered that most of the millions of life-forms over the ages have become extinct." She added: "Why should we be any different?"



Sweeney: 'There was so much to tell'

FAMILY PICTURES

It started out as a half-hour show to be called *Over Peterson's Canada*, featuring the 67-year-old jazz pianist talking about his life and his country. But 17½ years later, after shooting more than 90 hours of film, producer Sylvia Sweeney is releasing in the *Key of Glass*, a two-hour musical biography of the reformed Peterson—who is also her uncle. Sweeney, a former cohost of 60's current-affairs program *WJ*, said that a lot of good material, including the discovery of Peterson's long-lost half brother in Vancouver, still had to be edited out. "But there was so much to tell," added Sweeney, whose film also on tap on Nov. 1. "This is a man who's done a lot, from sitting in Billie Holiday's dressing room to composed performances for the Queen of England."

The lighter side

Italian writer Roberto Benigni has a knack for comedy. A veteran of director Jim Jarmusch's offbeat hits *Down by Law* (1986) and this year's *Night on Earth*, Benigni plays the dapper son of a dead Italian composer in *Life Is Beautiful*, Benigni's latest comedy. *Son of Pink Panther*, which has yet completed filming. "Benigni understood very much," said Benigni. "He sees slapstick in a very delicate way." And Benigni has had his own directorial success: *Jubilee* (1991), starring and written by Benigni, which will be released across Canada on Oct. 23, is Italy's highest-grossing film ever. The tale of a bus driver caught up with the Mafia, *Jubilee* Sweeney takes a light-hearted approach to a serious social issue—after which Benigni is unapologetic. "The best comedy is when something is wrong," he said. "It's not possible to make something that isn't the Mafia—the Mafia doesn't care, the Mafia doesn't go to heaven." Benigni added: "The only thing we can do is laugh."



Benigni: 'All we can do is laugh'

LESSONS FROM THE PAST

It may seem odd that a woman who has been married four times would give advice on relationships. But psychologist and best-selling author Barbara De Angelis says that she speaks from experience. "I wanted badly to be married, but I didn't worry too much about who I married," she 41-year-old self-help guru said. "I was addicted to bad relationships." Now, De Angelis, whose second husband was Canadian musician Doug Henning, lives in California with her "best's true companion," psychiatrist Jeffrey Jones. And she has just released her third book, *Am I the One for Me?*, a step-by-step guide to identifying a compatible mate. "Because I've been there, and I've not just a theory," said De Angelis, who added that her own "personal pain" inspired her to help others. "I've come out on the other side," she said, "and I can survive, anyone can."

De Angelis: 'Personal pain'

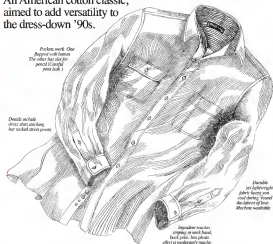


Diplomatic reserve

Business Lydia Dunn is arguably the most powerful and outspoken woman in Hong Kong. A member of the British colony's governing council, Dunn, 52, was in Vancouver and Toronto this month promoting trade, and she says that "Hong Kong agreement would not be affected" by a No vote in the Oct. 28 referendum. "People understand that it is a strictly Canadian issue," she added. That reserved stance is typical of Dunn, who also is unfazed by gender politics. "People in Hong Kong don't make time worrying whether a job should go to a woman," she added. "Anyone who can do it is given the job."

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Morning-after help

A controversial abortion pill has a new use

Ever since it was developed by French scientists in 1980, the drug RU-486—which can safely induce a abortion in women up to the sixth week of pregnancy—has generated controversy. Even though RU-486 has not been approved for general use in the United States or Canada, since over the drug forced upon in North America last week after Scottish researchers reported that the drug can be used as a highly effective morning-after contraceptive. Writing in the authoritative *New England Journal of Medicine*, a team of researchers from the University of Edinburgh reported findings which showed that, if taken within 72 hours of unprotected sexual intercourse, the drug will prevent implantation of a fertilized egg in a woman's womb. The survey reported on 800 British women who asked for assistance after unprotected intercourse. Doctors gave almost half the women high doses of both control pills—a standard method of preventing pregnancy at such circumstances. In the remaining cases, doctors gave the women RU-486, a second drug that induces menstruation. The researchers found that RU-486 was highly effective in preventing pregnancy, with fewer side effects than ordinary birth control pills.

Birth control experts said that the Scottish report was important both because of the findings about RU-486 and because it drew attention to the availability of conventional birth control pills. Morning-after pregnancy immediately after intercourse. The experts said that many women, and some doctors, were unaware that a dose of four birth control pills within 72 hours usually prevented implantation of the fertilized egg. At the same time, the report prompted debate between the two sides in the abortion issue. Said James Hughes, the Toronto-based president of the national anti-abortion group Campaign Life Coalition: "We don't like it. It doesn't matter whether you kill the unborn child 8½ months after fertilization or a day after it's conceived." For his part, Dr. Henry Margetts, who operates abortion clinics in six Canadian cities, said in Toronto that the French pill should be made more widely available. "It's a tremendous advantage to women's health so it should be permitted," declared Margetts.

The French pill is part of a new generation of birth control drugs known as antiprogesterones. Chemically, RU-486 is a steroid hormone that is similar to the natural hormone progesterone. When a pregnant woman takes RU-486, it blocks the action of progesterone, which is essential in helping a fertilized egg to become



A woman with birth control pills: an alternative

implanted in the uterine wall. Although anti-abortionists object to its use, many doctors contend that pregnancy does not begin until implantation is established. They say that plans early use of RU-486 in the category of a contraceptive, not abortion. According to the University of Edinburgh report, the side effects of RU-486, including nausea and vomiting, were relatively mild compared to the usual problems with conventional birth control pills. The French pill has opened a vision of opposition since it was first marketed in France in 1988. With the drug under attack from

Pro-life activists, the pharmaceutical company Roussel-Uclaf is now just determined to take the drug off the market. Within two days, the French government bowed to pressure from medical experts and women's groups and ordered the company to remove the pill. It is now under way in France, Britain, Sweden and Canada as a safe surgical method of abortion within the first six weeks of pregnancy.

But Roussel-Uclaf has never applied for approval to market RU-486 in the United States or Canada. Indeed, the firm, which is partly owned by the French government, has shown itself to be sensitive to the political climate surrounding abortion in countries where its use has been considered. In 1990, the company halted clinical trials at the United States, citing widespread opposition to the anti-abortion movement. At the time, company officials have said in the past that they are reluctant to

apply for regulatory approval in Canada for the same reason. Said Donald Bédard, president of Montreal-based Roussel Canada: "With the controversy prevailing here and with the strength of argument on both sides of the debate, it is not clear that the social endorsement is there."

Still, in recent months there have been signs of increasing pressure from some politicians and members of the medical establishment to have the controversial drug considered for approval in Canada. In July, Frances Lafram, health minister in Ontario's New Democratic Party government, asked Ottawa to extend an invitation to Roussel Uclaf to apply for regulatory approval. As well, the Canadian Society of Obstetrics and Gynecologists of Canada has declared that further delays in making it possible to Canadian women would be unethical. But a spokesman for federal Health Minister Dennis Austin said that all drug companies must go through the same approval process—and so far Roussel Uclaf has not applied for approval.

Meanwhile, researchers in the United States and Canada are studying the drug's potential for treating other diseases, including breast cancer, brain tumors and endometriosis, a painful condition in which uterine tissue begins to grow outside the womb. Researchers at the National Cancer Institute of Canada have launched a study in Toronto involving 15 patients suffering with recurrent breast cancer to determine whether RU-486 could be used to treat that disease. They think that the drug might be effective, because some breast cancers depend on progesterone for growth. While the debate over RU-486 continues, another, more important benefit of the drug may still await discovery.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM
is a Toronto writer.

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THE HIGHLIGHTS

Over the past two years, federal, provincial and Aboriginal leaders have consulted with thousands of Canadians and special interest groups from coast to coast. These consultations included Royal Commissions, participatory conferences, parliamentary hearings, and hearings in the provinces and territories held by provincial and territorial legislatures. Federal, provincial, territorial and Aboriginal leaders have agreed unanimously on a package of constitutional proposals that recognizes the equality of all Canadians and represents all of our interests. The agreement is now before Canadians.

The agreement proposes that the new Constitution would contain a statement of key economic and social objectives shared by all of the governments in the federation. The objectives include comprehensive, universal,

portable, accessible and publicly administered health care; adequate social services and benefits; high quality primary and secondary education and reasonable access to post-secondary education; collective bargaining rights and a commitment to

protecting the environment. The economic policy objectives, be enriched would be aimed at strengthening the Canadian economic union, the free movement of persons, goods, services, and capital, ensuring full employment and a reasonable standard of living for all Canadians, ensuring sustainable and equitable development.

Avoiding Overlap and Duplication

Exclusive provincial jurisdiction would be recognized there on the principle of subsidiarity by population in the areas of forestry, mining, well, Quebec would be assured a minimum 25% of the tourism, housing, recreation, etc. in the House of Commons municipal affairs, cultural matters within the province, would be made up of six elected labour market development ministers from each province training. In addition, to ensure the two levels of government to one from each territory work in harmony, the government of Canada commits to negotiating seats would provide state agreements with the provinces in areas such as immigration, regional development and telecommunications topics. The reform Senate's powers should significantly protect the role of the elected Senators in the policy process.

The proposals recognize that Aboriginal peoples have an As was the case in the Meech Lake agreement, the inherent right to self-government and that the Canadian Canadian Constitution would recognize the distinct nature of Aboriginal peoples and that they should enable them to develop self-government arrangements

Distinct Society

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Parliamentary Reform

Aboriginal Self-Government

and to take their place in the Canadian federation. The proposals recognize Aboriginal governments as one of the three constitutionally recognized orders of government in Canada. In addition, the proposals

provide for a negotiation process between Aboriginal leaders and provincial and federal governments to put this right into effect. The recognition of the inherent right would not create any new rights to land.

Now that Canada's federal, provincial, territorial and Aboriginal leaders have reached a consensus, it is the right of all Canadians to understand the new proposals. Call the toll free number below to receive an easy to read booklet on the new constitutional agreement or a complete text.

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Like the time a Florida hospital called the Alarm Center regarding a Blue Cross policy holder who'd suffered a stroke. The hospital felt the patient was stable enough to return to Canada.

Drawing on his experience in aviation medicine, Dr. Shore felt flying the patient on a commercial airline presented an unacceptable risk. He immediately dispatched

an air ambulance, a paramedic and an intensive care nurse.

In retrospect, it was the right decision. As the plane reached 38,000 ft., the patient's

heart rate and blood pressure dropped. The nurse immediately gave life support medication and the pilot descended to 28,000 ft. to help give oxygen to the patient.

Thanks, in part to the response of doctors and staff at the Blue Cross Alarm Center, the patient recovered.

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HEALTH

Kids and asthma

A disease is on the rise among children

They are ugly, multi-ringed creatures about the size of a millimeter long. They tend to congregate in mattresses or on carpets around a bed so they can be close to their food supply—dead human skin. The tiny bugs that scale off every time a sleeper rolls over. The predators are called house dust mites, and they are not just grossly unattractive. Now, according to medical researchers in the United States and Canada, mites are probably one of the factors—and perhaps the major one—behind a sharp increase in the development of asthma among young children.

The latest evidence in the continuing search for the causes of asthma emerged last week when a research team headed by Dr. John Younger of the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minn., published findings showing that Rochester-area children were two to three times as likely to have had the disease in 1985 as in 1964. In its report in the *American Review of Respiratory Disease*, the Younger group speculated that more children may be developing asthma—a disease that is characterized by coughing, wheezing and difficulty in breathing—because energy-conscious parents are unwittingly adding in indoor air pollution by waking homes more tightly. The tighter walls, he said, create a warmer and more humid environment that encourages the accumulation of dust mites. Allergies, factors have long believed, are a principal cause of asthma in children, a disease that is seldom fatal but can cause severe disability and seriously inhibit a child's physical activity. The study looked at all age groups, but found increases in asthma cases only among children.

In Canada, researchers in Winnipeg and Vancouver began collaborating in January on a seven-city, \$100,000 comparative study of indoor and outdoor environments to identify factors that may play a role in causing asthma. Dr. Allen Becker, a 42-year-old associate professor of allergy and clinical immunology at the University of Manitoba, said that researchers, using 60 homes in each city, are examining a variety of factors that may be involved in triggering asthma attacks, including cleanliness, cat and dog hair and weather patterns.

Although members of the two-city project have not yet published any conclusions, Becker said that he believes asthma can be aggravated when the smallest particles in the atmosphere—pollutants from dust mites—their microscopic fecal pellets and other particles. Vancouver rats or beeping mice sounds will not get rid of the problem, Becker said. The recommended course of action on behalf of children who may be allergic to mites, and mattresses

is plastic to cut off the food supply of the parasites. These precautions are particularly important, declared Becker, "because there seems to be a real and true increase in the prevalence of asthma, not only among very

young children but among older ones as well." Dr. Gerard Canoy of Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children asthma clinic said that the number of youngsters hospitalized with the ailment has risen by 100 per cent during the past 20 years. And while children of dust-mites being incubated in better-insulated homes may be partly to blame, "it may also be that we are now diagnosing more patients, and also diagnosing as asthmatic cases we used to call bronchitis and other things." For the estimated 200,000 Canadian children who suffer from asthma, the new situation being said in the disease could eventually help them to breathe more easily.

RAE CORRELL



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Finding a mother lode

An author mines the family for wit and wisdom

THE MOTHER ZONE

By Maria Jackson
(Macfadden/Walker & Lotz, 277 pages,
\$25.95)

Since Dr. Benjamin Spock's 1946 *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* convinced that children were more than subjects for early pop training and other kinds of frenetic representation,

except books on motherhood and children have been written to thoroughly confuse even the most experienced parent. That onslaught of so-called expert opinion, much of it propaganda for child-focused consumer products or theories of behavior, has somehow obscured the simplicity and difficulty of motherhood. Given the abundance of expert help and other modernities, being a mother and raising children is supposed to be as easy as the rest of our back-aided lives have become. Yet mothers seem to be increasingly affected by depression, and parental incompetence abounds. Bringing a child to whose mother is possible in this strange world remains among the least valued vocations, even though a mother's reflection will reveal it as perhaps the most important use of all. With *The Mother Zone*, Maria Jackson makes a major contribution toward restoring the dignity that mothering deserves. She also offers a fascinating account of just how complicated child-rearing and the relationships and emotions that support it (or fail to support it) have become.

Jackson's friendly personal approach to her own passage through the Mother Zone reveals all the predictable new-parent "paradoxes," she writes, "a complicated fractal of thought and emotion that we've tried to tame with rules, cynicism and knowledge. But the pregnancy remains unmapable." Not surprisingly, she raised a child who became an accomplished mix of anti-therapist, critic, empathic cross-attentionist and small apologist, she offers few unambiguous answers, and her wisdoms are mostly line-used and often cautionary. "To truly identify with a child," says Jackson, "we make ourselves vulnerable again. For women who have spent the past 30 years trying to master a little control

and power, this new vulnerability as a mother can feel toothsome indeed."

Women who have been through the Mother Zone will find that and other insights comforting, but there is also much in the book for the fathers who have lived along its bewildering borders. Even young couples to mid-Zone who, Motherly saying that they can conceive and raise a child without profound alterations to their lifestyle or their relationships will find



Jackson restoring the dignity that mothering deserves

more than a few of their confusions helpfully explained.

There is much to admire in Jackson's approach. She has chosen a route that takes no shortcuts, and goes out of her way to explore subjects that are characteristically left dark or fuzzy. From the acquaintance of her baby's father

to the sometimes anachronistic of childbirth, from the sudden shock of living with a being that is at once wholly dependent and completely tyrannical through to the emergence of a new, sentient human being, she documents and entertains. Along the way, she also offers an insight of redemptive concern of child-care's vast literature that will send high-tech types and crutch-grasping toddlers scurrying for cover. Her best qualities are a fine mastery for texture and detail, and the courage and will to have taken notes during a period when most women find most of their heads down and try to survive.

The book's best and most insightful sections are the ones that most of her predecessors have filled with gender mythmaking or bubble-bath romance: conception, pregnancy and the first months of the child's life. Jackson's sensitive confusions with her gifts as an experienced here, and back-to-back proof that description of how reliably she played out (and was played out) her reproductive urge when her biologi-

cal clock began to tick took real laughter and took some bloods of recognition in more than a few husbands and ex-husbands. And a more sensitive look—written—of what goes through a woman's mind while she is pregnant does not start. "Never," she writes, "think that pregnancy is just a spare room in a woman's home; it changes everything—the light, the horizon, the why should I? The idea that we ought to essentially override language in something a modern woman can and ought to 'handle' is a body to its devastation of the body itself."

The latter part of her narrative documents the adventures that follow. Much of it details the navigation of her high-speed, intuitive, and, yes, costly, through a series of frightening health crises and infernal rises of passage. But there is more to motherhood than child-rearing and there is more to Jackson's book. She provides an intimate look at an evolving relationship and a startlingly honest self-portrait of an intelligent woman growing older and wiser.

As *The Mother Zone* says, Jackson is 45, her son is 20-month-old and his complete's remarkable first book. The only thing about it is that readers may have to wait until Jackson's son is a teenager before she has enough material for a sequel.

BRIAN BOWETT



Ondaatje: a gift for evoking the moods and delights of sexual love

Casualties of war

Michael Ondaatje spins a haunting tale

THE ENGLISH PATIENT

By Michael Ondaatje
(McClelland & Stewart, 303 pages, \$26.94)

Poets rarely make good novelists. Their penchant for wordplay tends to flip up the narrative, and they are often more interested in scenery than in characters. But Michael Ondaatje is different. The 39-year-old, Toronto-based author, 49, who began his writing career as a poet, has managed to recast the traditional novel in his own peculiar way, so that the measured dance of his poetic rhythms and images binds the reader ever deeper into a story. His new novel, *The English Patient*, is one of the finest Canadian novels ever written. In England, where it has also been published, it was the author's favorite to win the coveted Booker Prize this week, an honor that no Canadian has ever received, although in past years authors such as Margaret Atwood, Robertson Murray and Robertson Davies have been nominated.

The English Patient is not one story, but many. The novel opens in a war-torn Italian villa in 1945, when the Allied armies have only just pushed the retreating Germans out of the area. It is a young Canadian nurse from Toronto, in visiting Canadian nurse, who is sent to a hospital in Italy to care for the other casualties in the makeshift hospital were transported elsewhere. Eventually, two other characters, Joe (Hana) and her English patient, a middle-aged man who is played by the Allies in their espionage campaign, was a Toronto friend of Hana's brother, Royal Sault (Ondaatje's Kij) is a 28th, and an

expert at defining bonds for the British army. The four occupy the high, damp rooms of the villa, with its falling Renaissance frescoes and master-chill beds, sharing stories about themselves that gradually reveal the most explosive secrets of their lives.

The injured English patient lies at the center of their drama, a mysterious man who apparently cannot remember his name or exactly where in England he is from. Hana tends him with almost wordless care. "She has learned his form for months and she knows his body well," Ondaatje writes, "the pain shooting like a sea horse, the thin light from 'Highness of Christ,' she thinks." Despite his black, matted hair, the brutal sun has remained normally active. Coated by his growing attraction with the others, he gradually discloses a tale of obsessive love for a married woman. Before the war, he had been an explorer of the Sahara Desert, and the last chapters of his doomed after play reveal how and in what way he perished.

Ondaatje has a particular gift for evoking the moods, obsessions and delights of sexual love in a fresh and surprising way. His novel is full of lovers' perceptions of each others' bodies: the shifting risk of a sleeping man, the hollow at the base of a woman's throat. "About the risk of an argument of your death." That evocative attention to carnal detail helps give a rough, palpable texture to *The English Patient*. Ondaatje has somehow found a way to give an abstract narrative the texture of physical presence.

That accomplishment also depends on his masterly control of rhythm. Many novels are unacceptably forgettable because they adopt the bookish pace of antique time of journalism

they convey information, but not the *Art of Memory*. Ondaatje has written *The English Patient* so that it is almost impossible to read it quickly. The ordered sentences demand to be savored at their own, instantly pace they hold the attention the way some birds dance in the fading embrace.

As a result, Ondaatje is able to generate enormous suspense of crucial moments in the plot, the natural way it is to read ahead and see what happens, but Ondaatje's rhythms insist on slowing progress. That method is particularly effective in the sections dealing with Hana and her work. Every morning, he leaves the villa to defend the explosive border troops that the Germans have stolen through the countryside. He frequently spends to be on the verge of getting blown up, yet he continues to work with the same disciplined pace with which Ondaatje's sentences move forward. In the end, Hana, remembering an immensely attractive character in his own right, becomes a metaphor for that basic aspect of people that is willing to deal with the unbalanced secrets of the heart.

Unfortunately, the clarity and control that Ondaatje's style has of the characters and their situation than that of Ondaatje's sentences on describing his beliefs about the split between public and private country. Still, it is a measure of *The English Patient's* beauty and grace that, despite the measured control, it continues to prefigure in the mind like a great sea sole or a phrase by Bach.

JOAN BERNHOF

Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

FICITION

- 1 *The English Patient*, Ondaatje (2)
- 2 *Driving Force*, Atwood (3)
- 3 *The Children of Men*, Jones (4)
- 4 *Solomon's Hobbies*, Simons (5)
- 5 *Good News*, Atwood (6)
- 6 *The Iron Horse*, Simons (7)
- 7 *Shogun*, Clavin (8)
- 8 *Mary, Queen of Scots*, and the Miles, George (9)
- 9 *A Song for Solomon*, Kay (10)
- 10 *Rumpole on Trial*, Mortimer (11)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Heavy Metal*, Thorne (1)
- 2 *The Great Reckoning*, Gaudin and Ross (2)
- 3 *The Chinese*, Gray (3)
- 4 *William's Remains*, Seal (4)
- 5 *Without Words*, Seal (5)
- 6 *Worldwide*, Gaudin (6)
- 7 *Talk, Talk, Talk*, Jaynes (7)
- 8 *The To of Light*, Jaynes (8)
- 9 *The Last Fall*, Atwood (9)
- 10 *The Last Passage*, Sherry (10)
- 11 *The Culture of Government*, Collins (11)

(1) Published first week

Compiled by Susan Bellman



The proper rules for tractor hats

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

When one scribbles for a living, one receives the most astounding correspondence. To wit, from one E. J. Epp of Kenoza, Ont.

"Dear Fotheringham: Re. *Maclean's* magazine dated Dec. 16, 1991, and Aug. 24, 1992. Please cease using the expression *Tractor Hat*. It doesn't exist. In fact it is the dictionary as stated in the attached letter from Webster's New World. This is a follow up to my letters of Feb. 10 and Sept. 1, 1992."

The attached letter, from one Michael Agnes, Senior Editor, Publishing Co-ordinator of Webster's New World, Simon & Schuster Company Group, 856 Krohn Ave. in Cleveland, Ohio, reads:

"Dear Prof. Epp: Thank you for your letter with the inquiry regarding the term *tractor hat*. Our files yield a single citation for the expression (1943). Even with the two occurrences you mention from the magazine *Maclean's*, we lack reliable evidence that the expression is sufficiently widely used to warrant inclusion in the dictionary at this time. I can only speculate that a tractor hat is a baseball cap with some sort of company logo on it. For example, *Star Line Caterpillar Tractor*. Such caps are perhaps more widely known as *giant caps*. I have also heard them referred to as *'weed caps'* (often an informant in Northern Florida). Thank you for your interest."

Now, the scribbler is always happy—and most appreciative—when level and/or enraged readers tell him how to write. One is disappointed, however, over the fact that the E. J. Epp of Kenoza identifies himself to Webster's New World as a professor, but not to the scribbler.

Does he not think the progenitor of this page is writing of academic misadventure? I have been astounded by some of the best party-headed academics in the land, from P. Trudeau on down. If someone is going to make and instruct me, I want to know that he has at least a PhD behind his name. More important still is the suggestion—re. tractor hats—that on such please seats and travelator, perforce, should never appear in this space in case it frightens



both the horses and the little children in the streets.

Next thing you hear, someone will be saying that there cannot—the English language and logic being what it is—possibly be a political party calling itself the Progressive Conservatives. Surely this is an expression in itself—somehow like "military intelligence" or "jumbo shrimps" or "daytime food" or "investigative reporters."

If you let this sort of stuff go on, soon you'll be claiming that Pierre Trudeau, who says he wants to keep Canada together because he loves Quebec, is fact is not voting. No along with Presto! Manning who claims he's voting No because Quebec does not deserve to exist.

If you go along with the newly anointed Prof. Epp (I don't know they had a university in Kenoza), there will be edicts that no one should mention that the Prime Minister of the country—who is so suggestive that he was supposed

to keep his mouth shut during the referendum campaign—sends the dollar into the binjamen every time he opens his lippy yap.

You start believing the stuff, and pretty soon you think back chamber who go on platforms to denigrate ordinary intelligent Canadians on why they should vote actually know what they are doing.

There are a lot of dangers in this world to those who will not abide the instructions from those who would instruct. Churchill, to his eternal discredit, did not listen to these sages who told him he was a failure because he could not figure out death and was a faggot at school. Roosevelt never listened to those who harangued him at Princeton because he seemed more wacky. There are so many examples of those who simply would not take advice from their superiors. Henry Brecken told by his politeness that he had no chance of beating Tom Dewey, went out and did it triumphantly holding over his head on election night the famous *Chicago Daily Tribune* headline: "DEWEY LOSES THE MASS!" Told that the defense Gen. Douglas MacArthur was the most popular man in America, Truman sacked him and proved that old soldiers just like any.

The Wright Brothers despite Isaac, said their men weren't destined to fly, apparently posted on. They probably did not have the benefit of advice from university professors who knew what was right.

There are so many to learn in this land that are not obeyed. It is a disgraceful democracy like government, informed that it was six elected with only 38 per cent of the vote, proceeds along as if it will the government. The pretensions of the head, told by the uneducated that Merck with Son of a March that is equally hand-picked—a word, apparently, not found in Webster's New World dictionary on Kenoza Avenue in Cleveland, Ohio.

The problem with some people, including some people in Kenoza, is that they think rules exist. In language. In conduct. In politics. In life. If rules existed, 38 pump-praising utopians misapprehending so provincial pretensions would think of the country first. They don't, they think of themselves as blue-blooded rulers or bellhops.

If amiable rules existed, women with legs that do not get would not wear slacks on public streets and men would not smoke cigars in crowded places. It is a really tough new world in an straggle now ruled by political cor rectness, where you are told you cannot use a word, or a phrase.

That way lies madness—or possibly Kenoza.

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